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**A GUIDE TO THE TEXTUAL CRITICISM
OF THE NEW TESTAMENT**

A GUIDE
TO THE
TEXTUAL CRITICISM
OF THE
NEW TESTAMENT.

BY EDWARD MILLER, M.A.
RECTOR OF BUCKNELL, OXON.

Οἱ λόγοι μου οὐ μὴ παρέλθωσι.—ST. MATT. xxiv. 35.

“Truth crushed to earth shall rise again.”—BRYANT.

GEORGE BELL AND SONS, YORK STREET,
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TO THOSE
WHO,
WHETHER AT THE OUTSET OF THE WORK, OR AT THE CLOSE,
HAVE KINDLY GIVEN HELP OR ENCOURAGEMENT,
This little Treatise
IS GRATEFULLY INSCRIBED,
WITH THE PRAYER,
THAT IT MAY MINISTER IN SOME DEGREE, HOWEVER HUMBLE,
TO THE ASCERTAINMENT AND ACCEPTANCE
OF
THE GENUINE WORDS OF HOLY SCRIPTURE.

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PREFACE.

THE ensuing treatise is intended to be a brief Manual on the Textual Criticism of the New Testament for ordinary students of the Bible, and to induce those who may be disposed to enter more deeply into the important subject of it to prosecute further research in "The Plain Introduction" of Dr. Scrivener, the learned works of Dean Burgon, and in other well-known sources of information upon Textual Criticism.

The foot-notes will ordinarily indicate how much I have been indebted to the labours of other men in a work which pretends to be little more than a faithful representation of stores accumulated by the learned, and an independent estimate of the conclusions drawn by them.

To the Dean of Chichester I am indebted for many previous hints which I have found invaluable during my prosecution of a task both laborious and difficult. The undertaking of it was originally pressed upon me from without, and I am myself convinced that some such assistance as is here offered to the general Reader is greatly needed at this time. But I lay down my pen with the conviction derived from the accomplishment of my work, that every Reader who would really understand, and form an opinion for himself upon the great questions at stake, must bestow on the problem which has suddenly emerged into prominence a

considerable amount of individual, unprejudiced attention. He will be able to see with which of the contending parties the Truth must lie : but he must approach the problem in a calm, judicial spirit, must require Proof (as far as Proof is attainable) instead of putting up with Hypothesis, and above all must never cease to exercise a large amount of vigilant sagacity,—in fact, of Common Sense.

My thanks are also due to the Rev. R. Hutchison, M.A., Rector of Woodeaton, and late Scholar of Exeter College, Oxford, who has kindly helped me in correcting the proof sheets.

E. M.

BUCKNELL RECTORY,
Ember Week, Sept., 1885.

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION. IMPORTANCE OF THE SUBJECT.

The question stated—seven instances of serious change—others also advocated—the number introduced into the Revised Version—more into other editions—the subject not generally known—importance of it—plan of the work pp. 1-5.

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY OF TEXTUAL CRITICISM.

FIRST PART. EARLIER STAGES.

The natural growth of the science influenced by investigation and discovery pp. 6-7.

I. Infancy :—The New Testament not printed till the sixteenth century—1. Complutensian Polyglott. 2. Erasmus. 3. Robert Stephen, Theodore Beza, and the Elzevirs—the Received Text . . . pp. 7-12.

II. Childhood :—Introduction of various readings. 1. Bishop Walton, Codex A, Courcelles, and Fell. 2. Mill. 3. Bentley, Codex B. 4. Bengel, Wetstein, Matthæi, Birch, Alter, and Moldenhawer. 5. Griesbach, families and recensions of manuscripts, and Scholz—the free advance of boyhood pp. 12-19.

CHAPTER III.

HISTORY OF TEXTUAL CRITICISM (*continued*).

SECOND PART. CONTEMPORARY GROWTH . . . p. 20.

III. Youth :—Impatience under an overwhelming mass of materials—

Extreme Textualism. 1. Lachmann—rejects all but a few witnesses. 2. Tregelles—follows Lachmann—great services in collating and editing. 3. Tischendorf—amazing labours—discovers the Sinaitic—zigzag course. 4. Drs. Westcott and Hort—develop Lachmann's principles—extreme deference to B—surprising results—followed mainly by Two Members of the Revisers' Company—must we follow them? pp. 20-30.

IV. Signs of Coming Maturity :—Opposition. 1. Dr. Scrivener—his published works—large-minded principles. 2. Dean Burgon—his works—misrepresented—his sound and wide principles. 3. Canon Cook—The Bishops Wordsworth, J. G. Reiche, Kuenen and Cobet, Dr. Michelsen, Vercellone, Ceriani, Abbè Martin—other Roman Catholics pp. 30-37.

CHAPTER IV.

SCHOOL OF EXTREME TEXTUALISM.

The origin attributed by the leading masters to Lachmann . . p. 38

A. Theory of Drs. Westcott and Hort. 1. Knowledge of Documents derived from date and character a prior requisite : B and κ are the best MSS. 2. Importance of Genealogy, under which these two MSS. are brought back nearly to the Apostolic autographs. 3. Four families, sc. (a) Syrian, made in a recension at Antioch, (b) Western, (c) Alexandrian, and (d) Neutral, which is the best. 4. Of these, two are corrupt (b and c); the Neutral alone reaches back to earliest times; Syrian shewn to be worthless by analysis, want of antiquity, and internal evidence. 5. Hence κ B together nearly always right, and B alone seldom wrong pp. 38-44.

B. Refutation. 1. Too easy to be true, grounded on only part of the evidence, and destitute of real proof. 2. Sound sense is violated, and opinion unsupported by facts is balanced by opinions of other masters. 3. Genealogy affords an unsafe analogy, and in fact points the opposite way. B and κ are also condemned for want of descendants. 4. The theory about Families is disallowed by other Doctors, and lacks evidence. 5. The "Syrian," or Traditional Text, is not proved to be posterior, whether by an imaginary recension, or by a fanciful theory of conflation, or by ignoring proof of early existence, or by supposed internal evidence. 6. The characters of B and κ not superfine;

they were rejected by the Church, were the products of Semiarian times, are condemned by experts, and are full of blunders . . . pp. 44-59.

CHAPTER V.

THE RIVAL SCHOOL.

The tenets of the Rival School already implied—1. They do not maintain the Received Text, and are not indiscriminate in the use of authorities. 2. Insist that all authorities should be weighed and employed; and thus widen the basis. 3. They maintain the Traditional Text, which the Church of all ages has acknowledged, and no age therefore can reject—extreme importance of this part of the contention; hence the need of a history of the Traditional Text—the question depends upon a just estimate of proportion pp. 60-64.

CHAPTER VI.

HISTORY OF THE TRADITIONAL TEXT TILL THE ERA OF ST. CHRYSOSTOM.

Difference between Sacred and Classical Textual Criticism. 1. Conjectural Emendation inadmissible. 2. God the Holy Ghost the Preserver as well as Inspirer of the Holy Scriptures. 3. Corporate as well as individual productions pp. 65-68.

Early Corruption derived from oral teaching, tampering with the text by heretics, carelessness of scribes, ignorance of Greek or of doctrine—Gnosticism—Marcion—Tatian—evidence of corruption . . . pp. 68-72.

Exceeding care employed by the faithful—Traditional Text—Peshito—Old Latin Versions—Egyptian pp. 72-77.

Alexandria—Origen—followers of Origen—Eusebius—persecution of Diocletian—celebrated order of Constantine—transcription of B and κ . . . pp. 77-83.

Proofs of the Traditional Text in this period found amidst corruption in its subsequent supremacy, in the MSS. used by the Fathers, and in contemporaneous Versions pp. 83-85.

CHAPTER VII.

HISTORY OF THE TRADITIONAL TEXT FROM THE ERA OF ST.
CHRYSOSTOM TILL THE INVENTION OF PRINTING.

The previous period an era of speculation—the great Patristic Era—commentaries, dictionaries, and grammars—punctuation—breathings—spelling—improvement in the art of Transcription—monasteries—libraries—canon of Holy Scripture—supremacy of the Traditional Text pp. 86-94.

Gothic Version—Codex Alexandrinus (A)—Parisian Codex (C)—the Fathers not uncritical—Uncial manuscripts—Versions—Vulgate—Armenian—Georgian—Ethiopian—other Uncials . pp. 94-100.

Cursive manuscripts—their value—their agreement with the Uncials—Lectionaries—other Versions—undisputed predominance of the Traditional Text pp. 100-104.

CHAPTER VIII.

MATERIALS OF CRITICISM.

I. (a) Uncial manuscripts—in Gospels, Acts and Catholic Epistles, Pauline Epistles, and Apocalypse pp. 105-106.

(b) Cursive manuscripts—their value and vast number pp. 106-107.

Table of Uncials pp. 108-109.

II. Lectionaries and Liturgies—lectionary-system—their value—influence in mischief—Evangelistaria—Praxapostoli—Liturgies pp. 110-112.

III. Versions—Table—value—drawbacks—Old Latin pp. 113-115.

IV. Ecclesiastical Writers—drawbacks—value—the oldest class of manuscripts, but at second hand pp. 116-117.

The field to be explored—MSS. at first hand wanting in antiquity p. 117.

CHAPTER IX.

PRINCIPLES OF CRITICISM.

No evidence must be discarded—responsibility of the Church—

1. The first object the discovery of the Traditional Text—begin with the Received Text. 2. All evidence must be mastered—and followed.
3. Internal Evidence not on a par with External proof—seven canons—conclusion pp. 118-122.

APPENDIX I. The last Twelve Verses of St. Mark's Gospel

pp. 125-127.

„ II. The First Word from the Cross . pp. 127-128.

„ III. The Record of the strengthening Angel, the Agony, and the Bloody Sweat . . pp. 128-130.

„ IV. The Angelic Hymn . . . pp. 130-131.

„ V. The Doxology in the Lord's Prayer pp. 131-133.

„ VI. The Son of God's Eternal Existence in Heaven pp. 133-134.

„ VII. GOD manifested in The Flesh . pp. 134-137.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

- Page 2, line 17, *read* know *for* knew.
- „ 2, „ 20, „ xxiv. 51, *for* xxiv. 15.
- „ 3, „ 8, „ may have been pierced, *for* was pierced.
- „ 3, „ 9, „ the full, *for* its full.
- „ 7, „ 2, „ affected, *for* effected.
- „ 9, „ 20, „ manuscript, *for* manuscripts.
- „ 13, „ 21, „ appeared, *for* apeared.
- „ 14, „ 13, „ contributed a vast amount of information in his invaluable Prolegomena, *for* invaluable Prolegomena.
- „ 21, line 14, *read* manuscripts, *for* manuscript.
- „ 27, „ 4, „ Arian, *for* Asian.
- „ 28, note 6, *add* :—The form is however found in some Latin inscriptions.
- „ 46, line 1, *read* may have been pierced, *for* was pierced. *And at foot of page add the following note* :—Two suppositions are presented by Drs. Westcott and Hort as ‘alone compatible with the whole evidence,’ viz. (1) that the words are genuine, or (2) a ‘very early interpolation.’—“Notes on Select Readings,” p. 22. Compare margin of Revised Version.
- „ 48, line 27, *after* analogy, *add* :—There is therefore no certain foundation in genealogical considerations on which we can thrust back beyond a few years any common original of B and N, even supposing that it may have been several generations anterior to them.
- „ 54, note 3, *read* ix. 14, *for* ii. 14.
- „ 56, „ 2, „ collating, *for* collecting.
- „ 59, *add at end of note* :—Besides participating in all except eighteen of the blunders of B just enumerated, N indulges in a large crop of its own. Thus :—
- (1) Unsupported, or scarcely supported, omissions :—Matt. v. 45 (5 words); xv. 18, 19 (9); xxiii. 8 (5); xxiv. 35 (verse); xxv. 43 (5); xxvi. 62, 63 (16); Mark vi. 7, 8 (8); 28 (13); x. 30 (13); 35-37 (verse and 5 words); xv. 47—xvi. 1 (14); Luke iii. 1 (2); v. 26 (9); vi. 55 (7—gross nonsense); viii. 20 (4); ix. 38, 39 (verse and 4); xii. 25 (2); xv. 10 (10); xvi. 15 (verse); 17 (7); xix. 20, 21 (verse and 14—utter nonsense); xx. 3 (5); 4 (4); 5, 6 (19), &c., &c. None of these omissions is accepted even by Tischendorf, and most of them are corrected by N^c (cent. vii.).
- (2) General blunders :—*e. g.* Matt. xiii. 35 (Psalm 78 in the book of Isaiah); Mark i. 28 (Capernaum in Judea?); xiv. 30, 68, 72 (attempt to reconcile St. Mark with the rest by making the cock crow only once); Luke i. 26 (Nazareth in Judea); ii. 37 (Anna a

widow of 74 years); xxiv. 13 (Emmaus 160 furlongs from Jerusalem); John ii. 3 (vapid paraphrase); Acts viii. 5 (Philip in Cæsarea, not Samaria); x. 20 (missionaries preached to Evangelists); xiv. 9 (the impotent man did *not* hear St. Paul speak); Heb. ii. 4 (θερισμοῖς for μερισμοῖς); iii. 8 (in the temptation and in the day of the temptation); &c., &c.

(3) Mis-spellings :—

e. g. in St. Luke, βεβληβλημενον (v. 18); ουδνεος (viii. 43); οαφρονες (xi. 40); ποισαι for ποιῆσαι (xi. 42); αποαπολωλος (xix. 10);—besides Itacisms *et hoc genus omne* (such as παρετισθαι, xiv. 18, for παραιτῆσθαι) almost innumerable.

Page 73, line 23, *read* The robustness of that stem, *for* That robustness of the stem.

„ 74, line 14, *read* Syriac, *for* Syrian.

„ 74, „ 19, *after* known *add* and of that text, *i. e.* the Curetonian, we have only 1786 verses.

„ 75, line 1, *read* Syriac *twice* *for* Syrian.

„ 75, note 4, *read* the middle of Cent. V., *for* early in.

„ 77, *add as a note* :—There were three Dialects of Coptic, viz., Bahiric or Memphitic, Sahidic or Thebaic, and Bashmuric or Elearchian.

„ 78, line 26. *Instead of the sentence*, Indeed . . . Apostles, &c., *read thus* : Indeed, it is very questionable whether he did not select occasionally from his dissonant authorities, and settle for himself and his followers, though with restrained criticism, some of the readings in the works of the Evangelists and Apostles. It is certain that he did much more than this, &c.

„ 79, note 1, *add at end*. But his disclaimer (tom. iii., p. 671), in which he says that he considered it dangerous to attempt on the New Testament what he had done over the Old, proves that he attempted no regular recension.

„ 89, note 4, *read* Prolegomena *for* Prologomena.

„ 93, „ 1, „ contravenes *for* controvenes.

„ 95, line 6, „ Cyril Lucar, Patriarch of Constantinople, *for* Cyril Lucas, Bishop of Alexandria.

„ 98, line 11, *add*, To this must now be added the Codex Beratinus (Φ), which through the influence of Professor Duchesne was examined by M. Pierre Batiffol at Berat or Belgrade in Albania in April, 1885, and described some months after.

„ 100, line 12, *add*, Also the Codex Beratinus (Φ), like the last a purple Manuscript, and containing St. Matthew and St. Mark almost complete, though it is probable that both these two date from very early in the sixth century or from the end of the fifth.

„ 108, *insert* Beratinus *before* Rossanensis, Berat *before* Rossano, *and* Φ *before* Σ.

„ 108, *read* Purpureus *for* Purpurens.

„ 117, note, *read* 450 *for* 411, *and* 14459 *for* 12150.

„ 121, line 20, *read* itacism *for* italicism.

„ 126, line 6, *add* Φ *after* Σ.

„ 128, line 23, *read* authenticity *for* authencity.

A GUIDE TO THE TEXTUAL CRITICISM OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

IMPORTANCE OF THE SUBJECT.

WHAT is the genuine Greek—what the true Text of the New Testament? Which are the very words which were written by the Evangelists and Apostles of our Lord Jesus Christ under the Inspiration of the Holy Ghost? Have we up to this period received and used for the information of our faith and the guidance of our lives a Form of Text, which in a vast number of particulars, many of which are of great importance, has been fabricated by the device or error of men?

This question has been raised in the research of recent times, which has brought to light an amount of evidence residing in ancient copies and translations of the New Testament, that has led many eminent scholars to reject, as being in their estimation corruptions of the pure Text, various passages which have endeared themselves to Christians in the course of centuries. Thus, according to principles largely adopted,

(a) The Last Twelve Verses of the Gospel according to

- St. Mark must be cast aside, and an abrupt close made after the words, 'for they were afraid.'
- (b) In the Lord's Prayer as given by St. Luke (xi. 2-4), the following clauses must be excised:—'Our . . . which art in Heaven'; 'Thy will be done, as in Heaven, so on earth';—'but deliver us from evil.'
 - (c) The Doxology must be omitted from the Lord's Prayer in St. Matthew (vi. 13), and so all record of it lost in the Gospels.
 - (d) Vv. 43, 44 must no longer be reckoned in the 22nd chapter of St. Luke, and thereby the account must disappear of the strengthening Angel and the 'Bloody Sweat,' as well as the evangelical record of 'the Agony in the Garden.'
 - (e) The first of our Lord's seven Sayings from the Cross (St. Luke xxiii. 34) must be regarded as unauthentic, 'Father, forgive them, for they knew not what they do.'
 - (f) Also St. Luke's assertion of the Ascent into Heaven (xxiv. 15),—an omission of the more importance, because St. Mark's account of the same event, which included also the session at the Right Hand of God, is supposed under these principles to have vanished with the last twelve verses of his Gospel.
 - (g) St. Luke's recital of the Institution of the Holy Sacrament (xxii. 19, 20) must be lost, except as far as 'This is My Body.'

These seven instances, which might be multiplied extensively by the addition of other omissions,—such as of the descending angel and the cure wrought in the pool of Bethesda, of the last cry in St. Mark's description of the centurion's faith, of the greater part of St. Luke's account of

the Inscription on the Cross, of St. Peter's visit to the Sepulchre in the same Gospel, of the salutation 'Peace be unto you,' of the Lord shewing His Hands and His Feet, of the word 'broken,' whereby a gash is made and a blank space left in St. Paul's grand version of the Institution of the Holy Sacrament, and others too numerous to recount here—not to do more than allude to startling statements, such as that our Lord's Side was pierced before death, and that the sun was eclipsed at its full,¹—may teach all who revere and love the Word of God what precious points are at stake. If the changes advocated by the modern school leave enough behind in Holy Writ to support without doubt the essentials of the Faith of Christendom, yet they are so momentous in themselves as to produce a painful wrench in earnest affections which have attached themselves to words familiar and deeply loved from childhood, and to prove that, at least to first appearance, general and special attention should be directed to what may really be a corruption of the Holy Scriptures. Besides this, the number of alterations, amounting in the most moderate of the new recensions to 5,337,² reveals the formidable nature of the operations that are threatened. If the majority of these alterations are small, it must be remembered that the instance taken is one which presents much less change than other editions of the New Testa-

¹ St. John v. 3, 4 : St. Mark xv. 39 : St. Luke xxiii. 38 : xxiv. 12 : xxiv. 36 : xxiv. 40 : I Cor. ix. 24, κλῶμενον : St. Matt. xxvii. 49 : St. Luke xxiii. 45. ἐκλείποντος, which, as Dean Burgon truly says ("Revision Revised," p. 65), 'means an eclipse of the sun and no other thing,' though the Revisers translate it 'the sun's light failing.'

² The number of changes in the Greek Text of the Revised Version as estimated by Dr. Scrivener (Burgon, "The Revision Revised," p. 405). The changes in the English of the Revised Version are said to amount to 36,191.

ment. Enough is shown to establish beyond doubt that it is the duty of all Christians, who take an intelligent interest in the controversies of their day, not to sit still when such concerns are in jeopardy.

Yet at the present time there are comparatively few persons, clerical or lay, who have an intelligent acquaintance with the grounds on which this important question rests. The subject at first sight presents a forbidding aspect to most minds:—the exceedingly valuable treatises on it are too full of learning, and too long for such as are not really students to master:—and the hurry and haste of modern life demand a simpler mode of treatment.

It is therefore with the hope of presenting the chief features of Textual Criticism, or such elementary considerations as are immediately involved in determining the Greek Text of the New Testament, to readers in a clear and not uninteresting way, that in deference to the urgent solicitations of some who enter deeply into the controversy, the composition of this little treatise has been undertaken. Inexpressibly dear to all true Christians, whether they range themselves on the one side or the other, must be the very expressions,—the sentences, the phrases, the words, and even the rhythm and the accents,—of the genuine utterance of the Holy Spirit of God. The general sentiment of Christianity has applied with plenary enlargement the warning given at the close of the last Book in the Bible against addition or omission.¹ 'Let no man add to the words of the Holy Scriptures or detract anything from them,' said one of the most renowned of the Fathers.² 'Let

¹ Rev. xxii. 18, 19.

² Athanasius, "Ex Festali Epistola," xxxix. (t. ii. p. 39, Ed. Colon).

them fear the woe which is destined for them who add to or take away,' was the consentient admonition of another.¹

The leading points in the contention on either side will be given in the Narrative. The questions in debate are questions of fact, and must be decided by the facts of history, the origin and nature of the documents on which they depend, and due regard to the proportion of the Christian Faith. They cannot be settled piecemeal. All the counts of the case must be before the court. An attempt will therefore be now made to represent with all candour the chief grounds on which opinion should rest, as they have been set forth in the career of the Science of Textual Criticism, in the principal arguments employed by the Rival Schools of the present day, in the history of the transmission of the New Testament from age to age, and in the leading Materials of Criticism; and it will be our duty to deduce in conclusion the main principles that ought to regulate critical operations in any endeavour to revise and remodel the Sacred Text.

¹ Tertullian, "Adv. Hermogenem," xxii.

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY OF TEXTUAL CRITICISM.

FIRST PART. EARLIER STAGES. (1) INFANCY:—FORMATION OF THE 'RECEIVED TEXT.' (2) CHILDHOOD:—CRITICAL OPERATIONS BEFORE 1830.

THE Science of sacred Textual Criticism is the child of circumstances, and has been fostered by the zeal and industry of learned men. It has arisen from the large number of existing Copies of the New Testament, which has now, so far as inquiry has extended, reached no less than some two thousand.¹ These primary sources of information are further augmented by Translations into various languages, and by quotations occurring in the works of early Ecclesiastical Writers. Accordingly, as these numerous witnesses render evidence which is discordant in thousands of particulars, there is plainly a need of guiding principles and of a recognised system in estimating their testimony. Thus the Science of sacred Textual Criticism has been gradually growing almost since the time of the invention of printing.

And as was natural, its growth and tendency have been largely influenced from time to time by the materials that research and discovery have continually produced. When new Manuscripts have been brought to light, or the verdict of old ones has been ascertained by the slow process of col-

¹ 2003. Burgon, "The Revision Revised," p. 521. Dean Burgon added 374 in 1883. Dr. Scrivener, including these 374, reckons 2094. "Plain Introduction," Appendix, p. xxx, 3rd edition.

lation, the importation of fresh evidence has necessarily effected the conclusions previously drawn. A science depending upon facts that can be ascertained only after protracted processes of investigation, cannot but be late in coming to maturity. At the present time, hundreds of Manuscripts are waiting to be collated, various Versions need re-editing, and indexes have to be provided of the quotations in the Fathers, before all that is to be said upon controverted points can be collected with exact accuracy. Besides that, the relative value of the various classes and subdivisions of evidence cannot yet be determined so as to meet with universal acceptance.

Four Periods in the history of Textual Criticism may be distinguished, so far as it has been yet evolved, viz., Infancy, Childhood, Impetuous Youth, and Incipient Maturity.

I. THE INFANCY.

Although a folio edition of the Bible in Latin was printed by Gutenberg as early as A.D. 1455, none in the original Greek appeared till the beginning of the sixteenth century. The demand at the time was not great. Greek Scribes dependent upon employment for their living abounded in Europe after the capture of Constantinople in 1453. Printing would be much more difficult in the unfamiliar Greek type: and the prevalence of clever and graceful abbreviations made the work of copying at once more rapid and more artistic. Therefore half a century passed by before the Church saw the accomplishment of a task so formidable, of which the want was at once so easily and so well supplied.

1. Cardinal Ximenes, founder of the University of Alcalá, and an eminent patron of literature, was first in the field. In

the course of his advancement he had passed from a dungeon, where he had spent six years of his life, to the Archbishopric of Toledo and the Regency of Castile; and in his later days laid out the vast income of his See upon charitable or public objects. Having collected together as many Manuscripts as he could, he set Lopez de Stunica and other learned editors to the work in 1502, on which he expended more than 50,000 ducats, or about £23,000. It was intended to commemorate the birth of Charles V. But many years elapsed ere the completion of the New Testament in Greek and Latin on Jan. 10, 1514; and the book was not published till 1520, after Ximenes' death, and did not get into general circulation till two years after.

The Complutensian Polyglott—for such was the title, derived from the Latin name (*Complutum*) of Alcalá—was said by the editors to have been constructed from selected Manuscripts of great age and accuracy, supplied by Pope Leo X., who was the patron of the undertaking. Attempts have been made without success to ascertain what these Manuscripts were. The only result is that we must abide by the assertion of the editors and the character of the work. The Complutensian is admitted to be a fair but not by any means a faultless edition of the text that had already been in vogue, as is universally admitted, for upwards of a thousand years.

2. But the Complutensian Polyglott was actually anticipated in publication by a Greek Testament in Germany.

Froben, the printer of Basle, hearing of the operations in Spain, and wishing to forestall them, sent to Erasmus, who was then staying in England, and pressed him earnestly to undertake the office of editor. Erasmus received the first overtures on April 17, 1515. But such was the haste made

that the New Testament was printed before the end of February, 1516. Erasmus had however, as it appears, made some preparations of his own before he heard from Froben. He seems to have used what copies he could procure, but in a few cases where he either found or supposed his Greek authorities to be deficient, he translated from the Vulgate into Greek.¹

Erasmus' first edition made its way into Spain, where the Complutensian was lying complete, but awaiting the Pope's imprimatur for publication. Stunica found fault with it in the spirit of rivalry: but the fine old Cardinal replied, 'Would that all the Lord's people were prophets! produce better if thou canst; condemn not the industry of another.'²

Erasmus was, however, attacked by Stunica, and also by Edward Lee, afterward Archbishop of York, because he had omitted the testimony of the heavenly Witnesses in 1 John v. 7, as well as on other grounds. Erasmus replied that he could not find the passage in his Greek manuscripts, and that even some Latin copies did not give it. But at length he promised that if any Greek manuscripts were produced containing the words, he would in future insert them. It is remarkable that the celebrated Vatican Codex (B) was on this occasion for the first time appealed to on a point of textual criticism.³ In course of time the Codex Montfortianus, now at Dublin, was brought forward, and in consequence the passage was printed by Erasmus in his third edition in 1522. A fourth edition exhibited the text in three parallel columns, the Greek, the Latin Vulgate, and a recension of the latter by Erasmus. The last in 1535 contained

¹ This was notably the case in the last six verses of the Revelation.

² Scrivener's "Plain Introduction," p. 431.

³ Tregelles, "Printed Text," p. 22.

only the Greek. Each successive edition underwent correction, but the last did not differ much from the fourth. Erasmus died at Basle in 1536.

3. The editions of Robert Stephen, Theodore Beza, and the Elzevirs, complete this period.

The two first of Stephen, published at Paris respectively in 1546 and 1549, were most elegantly printed with type cast at the expense of Francis I., and are known to connoisseurs by the title '*O mirificam*' from the opening words expressing an encomium upon that king's liberality. The third, in folio, came out in 1550, and for the first time in the history of editions of the Greek Testament contained various readings. Reference was made to sixteen authorities, viz., the Complutensian Polyglott and fifteen manuscripts, amongst which the Codex Bezae (D), now at Cambridge, is thought to have been numbered.¹ Erasmus is not mentioned, although Stephen's two earliest editions were mainly grounded upon Erasmus' readings; and his third, according to Dr. Scrivener's computation, differs from them conjointly in only 361 places.² Robert Stephen did not collate his authorities himself, but employed the services of his son Henry.

His record of readings in the margin of his folio caused great offence to the doctors of the Sorbonne, and Stephen withdrew to Geneva to escape their enmity. Here he published in 1551 his fourth edition, almost unchanged in the Greek text from the previous one, but with one remarkable alteration. The chapters, into which Cardinal Hugo, of Santo Caro, had divided the books of the Bible in the thirteenth century, were in this edition first subdivided into

¹ Scrivener, "*Plain Introduction*," pp. 121, 438.

² "*Plain Introduction*," p. 436; i.e., 334 times in the text, and 27 in punctuation.

verses. His son Henry said that his father made the subdivision '*whilst riding*' from Paris to Lyons, probably during the intervals of his exercise. His object was to facilitate reference in a Concordance which he had in prospect.¹

Beza's text did not differ much from Stephen's. He published five editions, slightly varying upon one another, and ranging from 1565 to 1598. Of these the fourth, published in 1589, has the highest reputation, the fifth having been produced in '*extreme old age*.' Besides the advantage of Stephen's collections, Beza was the possessor of two very important MSS., the one already mentioned (D of the Gospels and Acts), which was presented by him to the University of Cambridge, and the Codex Claromontanus (D of St. Paul's Epistles) at Paris, both of which contained Greek and Latin texts, being therefore '*bilingual*' manuscripts.

The Elzevirs—Bonaventure and Abraham—brought out two editions at their celebrated press, one in 1624, and the other in 1633. Their text was made up from those of Stephen and Beza. The latter edition was remarkable from the expression '*Received Text*' occurring for the first time. Addressing the reader they said, '*So you have now a text universally received, in which we give no alteration or corruption.*'²

The text of Stephen, which was afterwards carefully repro-

¹ This is the ordinary account. Dr. Gregory however ("*Prolegomena*," pp. 164-66) maintains that Stephen Langton was the author of the present division into Chapters, as usual in the West. Some sort of division had been in existence from the first (*Ibid.* pp. 140-163).

² '*Textum ergo habes nunc ab omnibus receptum, in quo nihil immutatum aut corruptum damus*,' referring to the edition of 1624. (Pref.)

duced by Mill, has been generally taken in England as the standard or 'Received' text, and that of the Elzevirs has been thus regarded on the continent. The translators, however, of our Authorized Version did not adhere exclusively to any one of the chief editions.¹ When their authorities were at variance, they sometimes in their interpretation of the 'Received Text' followed Beza, sometimes Stephen, sometimes the Complutensians, Erasmus, or the Latin Vulgate.

II. THE CHILDHOOD.

In the period hitherto indicated, there was hardly any weighing of opposed readings. Such as presented themselves were ordinarily accepted with implicit confidence. The free instincts of infancy guided the Science mainly along a track that had previously been trodden with the continued approval of the Church for centuries. It would be reckless haste, not discerning judgment, that would off-hand condemn results thus reached. The copies chiefly followed were known to be specimens more or less exact of what had been preserved in the Church as the recognised form of the inspired Word.²

The Received Text of the sixteenth and seventeenth

¹ Dr. Scrivener has collected 252 passages, out of which the translators follow Beza against Stephen in 113, Stephen against Beza in 59, the Complutensian, Erasmus, or the Vulgate against both Stephen and Beza in 80.—"The Authorized Edition of the English Bible," &c., by F. H. A. Scrivener, M.A., D.C.L., LL.D., Cambridge, 1884, Appendix E.

² This is acknowledged by both the Rival Schools of the present day. See Westcott and Hort, "Introduction," pp. 91, 92, 110, 142, 145, 146. Vol. i., pp. 547, 550, 551. Burgon, "The Revision Revised," pp. 257, 258.

centuries represented with general, but far from invariable accuracy, the Traditional Text of the previous ages of the Church. But, on the other hand, the Church of later times could not properly rest without ascertaining, by all such wide and deep inquiry as was possible, whether these instinctive processes had issued in well-grounded conclusions. What was right would be proved to be right in full and free investigation, if candour and largeness of mind and firmness in faith kept away prejudice and narrowness and unbelief.

1. In 1657, Brian Walton, afterwards Bishop of Chester, published a Polyglott, to which were appended some various readings both in the fifth and sixth volumes. In company with some colleagues he had devoted himself to this work for twelve years during the dark troubles that had befallen the Church of England. He included various readings from the Codex Alexandrinus (A), now in the British Museum, which had been presented by Cyril Lucar to Charles I. in 1628. There were comprised in his pages also the results of collations of sixteen Manuscripts made by Archbishop Ussher.

In the next year appeared at Amsterdam a New Testament by Curcellæus or Courcelles, marked by Socinian tendencies. And soon after, in 1675, Dr. John Fell, Bishop of Oxford, published a small edition, in which collations from fresh Manuscripts were given, and citations were added from the Memphitic or ancient Version of Lower Egypt, and the Gothic, which was made soon after the Goths settled on the confines of the Roman Empire.

2. But a greater and stronger start was made at the end of the seventeenth century. In large measure through the help of Bishop Fell, who during his lifetime supplied impetus and funds, Dr. John Mill devoted the labour of

thirty years to the preparation of a grand New Testament which was intended to surpass Stephen's in beauty as well as in other respects. The good bishop's death in 1686 seems to have delayed the work: and it was not till 1707, three years after Archbishop Sharpe obtained for the struggling editor a stall at Canterbury and Royal aid in the prosecution of his purpose, that the volume came out. Mill himself died just a fortnight after the publication. Thenceforward the science of Textual Criticism proceeded upon a new career.

Mill only attempted to reproduce the text of Stephen, though he has departed from it in a few particulars.¹ But he added some 30,000 readings, and an invaluable Prolegomena. He far excelled all his contemporaries and predecessors in accuracy of collation and comprehensiveness of method. "Of the criticism of the New Testament in the hands of Dr. John Mill it may be said, that he found the edifice of wood, and left it marble."²

3. We now come to the grand design of the great Richard Bentley, Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, which broke forth with lofty promise but never reached realization. He unfolded his plan to Archbishop Wake in a long letter, in which after explaining his own studies he professes his belief that he should be able to restore the Text of the New Testament to the form in which it was couched at the time of the Council of Nicæa. He was led in his enthusiasm to add, 'so that there shall not be twenty words, or even particles, difference.' After describing the history of the Vulgate, and the editorial labours since the invention of printing,

¹ Dr. Scrivener, "Plain Introduction," p. 450 and note, has specified instances of this deflection.

² Scrivener, "Plain Introduction," p. 448.

he concludes: 'In a word, I find that by taking 2000 errors out of the Pope's Vulgate, and as many out of the Protestant Pope Stephen's, I can set out an edition of each in columns, without using any book under 900 years old, that shall so exactly agree word for word, and, what at first amazed me, order for order, that no two tallies, nor two indentures can agree better.'¹

This was in 1716, and in four years his plan was definitely made up. John Walker, fellow of Trinity College, who had already been employed in collating MSS. in Paris for the edition, was announced as 'overseer and corrector of the press.' John Walker continued to labour; and Bentley himself too, so far as other occupations and the strife with the Fellows of his College would allow him: but the edition never came out. He bequeathed a valuable collection of papers to his nephew, who made no use of them. After the death of the latter, they were published, including amongst several collations one which he had procured, and had got afterwards corrected, of the Vatican Manuscript (B). This was transcribed by Woide and printed.

4. A step in advance was next made by Bengel in 1734. The large number of authorities that had now come to light had created embarrassment. Were they all equally to be trusted? Did revision simply consist in a process of marshalling the witnesses on the right and left, and then counting heads? or had these witnesses special characters of their own, which must be investigated and known in order to the formation of a true estimate of their credibility?

Bengel therefore suggested that inquiries should be made into the origin of each,¹ 'whether taken singly or in pairs, or

¹ Ellis, "*Bentleii Critica Sacra*," Introductory Preface, p. xv.

associations, or families, tribes, and nations : ' ¹ so that they should be reduced to a genealogical table illustrating their several features and relationships. He divided manuscripts generally into African and Asiatic. In his text he was the first to depart on principle from the received standard. ² He introduced the division of the New Testament into paragraphs, with which we have become familiar.

Bengel was followed by Wetstein, who enlarged greatly the materials ready for criticism. He spent many years in collation, including in these labours about one hundred and two Manuscripts. He was the first to cite the Manuscripts under their present designation, quoting from A to O of the Uncials in the Gospels, and 1—112 of the Cursives. ³ He attached great importance to the Codex Alexandrinus (A), the oldest then generally known. He shed much light upon the Versions, or early Translations into other languages. And he also laboured, though it is thought not so successfully, upon the Fathers. His services were so considerable that Bishop Marsh was of opinion that he had accomplished more than all his predecessors put together. ⁴ His edition of the Greek Testament came out in 1751-2.

Most important service was rendered in the collection and collation of existing manuscripts by C. F. Matthæi, Andrew Birch, and others. Matthæi, a Thuringian by birth, who held the Professorship of Classical Literature at Moscow, found in that capital a large number of Manuscripts brought

¹ Bengel, "Apparatus Criticus," p. 387.

² Scrivener, "Plain Introduction," p. 457.

³ Scrivener, "Plain Introduction," p. 460. Uncial Manuscripts are those which are written in Capital Letters : Cursives, in the running hand of ordinary writing. Uncials are designated for convenience by capital letters, and Cursives by numerals.

⁴ Tregelles, "Printed Text," p. 77.

in the seventeenth century from Mount Athos, both Biblical and Patristic. ¹ He collated with an accuracy which has drawn down strong praise ² seventy copies, consisting of these and some others ; and besides he assembled the citations from Holy Scripture contained in about thirty manuscripts of St. Chrysostom's works. His Revision of the Greek Text was exclusively founded upon the manuscripts of his own examining. Whatever may prove to be its critical value, no difference of opinion can be entertained about the remarkable accuracy of method and scholarship, in which he has set a bright example to all who come after him. His collations will remain a treasure for all time. ³

About the same period Alter was doing work at Vienna, similar in kind, but inferior in degree. And Birch, with the assistance of Adler and Moldenhawer, laboured in Italy, Germany, and Spain.

4. Thus a large mass of evidence grew up : what seemed vast in the days of Mill was extensively multiplied. And in consequence another attempt was made to classify the accumulated materials of criticism. John James Griesbach, a pupil of Semler, following out, though with corrections, what his master had begun, urged that three great families of manuscripts existed, each of which was founded upon a special 'Recension,' or edition. He distinguished these as respectively Western, Alexandrian, and Byzantine. He considered that the testimony of two of these classes should prevail against the third. His theory was no doubt grounded upon a certain, or rather an uncertain, amount of truth. But as he carried it out, it was overthrown by Archbishop Laurence. And as to his 'recensions,' as J. G. Reiche

¹ Scrivener, "Plain Introduction," p. 463.

² Burgon, "The Revision Revised," p. 246.

afterwards shewed,¹ there was no ground for them beyond speculation. Nothing that can be termed historical evidence has been produced for any such operations having been accomplished as would account for Griesbach's classes.

But Griesbach also carefully edited a Greek Testament, and thoroughly examined the citations of Holy Scripture made by Origen. This latter operation, of which the results may be seen in his *Symbolæ Criticæ*, affords a specimen of what must be done in the case at least of the more important Ecclesiastical Writers before all the evidence adducible can be brought to bear upon controverted points.

Griesbach carries us into the present century: he died in 1812. The work was continued by John Martin Augustine Scholz, who added, though with much incorrectness, a large amount of materials to the stores previously known. His contribution consists of no less than 616 Cursive manuscripts. But confidence cannot be reposed in his productions, as has been shewn more than once.² It is remarkable that he modified Griesbach's theory of supposed Recensions of manuscripts, including the Western of Griesbach amongst the Alexandrian, and thus making two instead of three. "In the Alexandrian family," says Dr. Scrivener, "he included the whole of Griesbach's Western recension, from which, indeed, it seems vain to distinguish it by any broad line of demarcation."³

¹ Burgon, "The Revision Revised," p. 380 and notes. Cook, "Revised Version," pp. 4-7. J. G. Reiche, "Commentarius Criticus," tom. iii., *Observatio Prævia*.

² Scrivener, "Plain Introduction," p. 474, and note, in which he quotes from Dean Burgon's letters to the "Guardian."

³ Scrivener, "Plain Introduction," p. 475. "The untenable point of Griesbach's system, even supposing that it had historic basis, was the impossibility of drawing an actual line of distinction between his

Such was the growth of the Science till towards the middle of the present century. It was the natural development of boyhood, invigorated and enlarged by constant action, and extending freely on all sides. There was continually an amplification of materials, and operations were progressively prosecuted over wider and wider fields. Theory was pursued less actively, and with not so happy results. Different minds succeeded in different provinces; hardly any one in all. 'We are thankful,' says Dr. Davidson, 'to the collators of manuscripts for their great labour. But it may be doubted whether they be often competent to make the best critical text out of existing materials. . . . We should rather see the collator and the editor of the text dissociated. We should like to have one person for each department.'¹

Alexandrian and Western recensions.'—Tregelles, "Printed Text," p. 91.

¹ "Biblical Criticism," vol. ii., pp. 104-5, quoted by Tregelles, "Printed Text," p. 172.

CHAPTER III.

HISTORY OF TEXTUAL CRITICISM.

PART II. CONTEMPORARY GROWTH. (3) YOUTH:—LACHMANN AND THE SEVERAL DOCTORS OF THE EXTREME SCHOOL. (4) SIGNS OF MATURITY:—OTHER DOCTORS. WIDENING OF THE BASIS.

BUT now came a change. The impetuosity of youth lacked the patience to await a further growth of the Science, and to abstain from drawing conclusions till all the evidence had been gathered out of all quarters, thoroughly examined, sorted, and duly valued. A short and easy method of decision was sought and taken. It was too hard a lot to leave the inheritance of the promised land to a coming generation. If the evidence were too unwieldy to be managed in the mass, some was valuable, and some not at all. Why not select the valuable, and be guided by the verdicts it gave?

So arose the School of Extreme Textualism.

1. Lachmann, the celebrated philologist and critic, published with the aid of Philip Buttmann, an edition of the New Testament in two volumes, one of which came out in 1842, and the other in 1850, and both of them at Berlin, where he was a professor. His first principle, at which he had hinted in a small edition eleven years before, was to discard

the readings of the 'Received Text,' as being in his opinion only about two centuries old; whereas they conflicted with what he conceived to be better authority. His main object was to restore, according to the design of Bentley, the text of the fourth century, which he supposed had been lost. For this purpose he laid aside all the later manuscripts, and confined himself to the few older ones. He also admitted the earliest Latin versions which existed before St. Jerome effected the Vulgate revision. And lastly, he employed the testimony of a few of the oldest Fathers.

Thus in the Gospels he had the guidance of the Alexandrian (A.), the Vatican (B.), the Parisian (C.), and four fragments,¹ besides an occasional use of the Cambridge manuscript (D):—the old Italian manuscript in Latin:—and the quotations of St. Irenæus, St. Cyprian, Origen, Lucifer, and Hilary. He made a clean sweep of all the rest,—a very satisfactory process as far as easiness of revision was concerned,—choosing a 'voluntary' and comfortable 'poverty' of materials, with a haughty disregard of the earnest labours of his predecessors.² Of his manuscripts, only one, the Vatican B, really conducted him into the fourth century, and of that he could then use only imperfect collations. The most important part of his work has been considered to be the toil which he expended upon the old Latin texts, and his vindication of their critical value, though that is not now held to be quite so high as his estimate would make it.

2. Lachmann was succeeded by Samuel Prideaux Tregelles, whose labours were much more prolific. Brought up

¹ P, Q, T, Z.

² Scrivener, "Plain Introduction," pp. 478, 9. Tregelles, "Printed Text," p. 104.

amongst the Society of Friends, he passed through the body of Plymouth Brethren into the position of a lay member of the Church of England.¹ The most important part of his work is to be found in his editions, and especially his collations of manuscripts. He edited two, the "Codex Zacynthius" (Z), belonging to the British and Foreign Bible Society, and the fragment O. He collated with great accuracy² eighteen Uncials, and thirteen Cursives. And he devoted much attention to Versions and Fathers, especially to Origen and Eusebius.³

He discussed Lachmann's method, in his "Account of the Printed Text of the New Testament," and accepted unreservedly the first principle. 'To Lachmann must be conceded this, that he led the way in casting aside the so-called *Textus Receptus*, and boldly placing the New Testament wholly and entirely on the basis of actual authority.'⁴ With this utter disregard of the Received Text, Tregelles went on to the endorsement of the next principle, which was found in drawing a line of demarcation between the critical aids that are to be neglected as valueless, and those upon which dependence was to be placed. He divided manuscripts into three classes. The assent of those which were anterior to the seventh century was held by him to be essential for the settlement of any reading. The Cursives, dating since the tenth century, were erroneously regarded by him as in general opposed to the ancient copies. And the later Uncials, between the seventh and the eleventh centuries, appeared to him to be divided in their agreement between the modern and the ancient. So that the only trustworthy

¹ Scrivener, "Plain Introduction," p. 487.

² "Plain Introduction," p. 486.

³ Ibid. ⁴ "Printed Text," p. 99.

authorities were the oldest of these.¹ In a similar spirit, he attended to none but the earliest Versions, and to those sparingly, and cited no Fathers later than Eusebius in the earlier half of the fourth century. The reasons for this latter limit are: (1) because Eusebius 'is on the line of demarcation between the earlier text, and that which afterwards became widely diffused; and (2) because of the absolute necessity of confining such an examination between such limits as it might be practicable for one individual to reach in any moderate number of years.'² Tregelles died in 1875, before his Greek Testament was fully out.

3. But the most conspicuous figure in this school was Constantine Tischendorf, a man of the most remarkable energy and success, who in the services that he rendered in assembling materials for Textual Criticism, and in presenting them for employment to establish the genuineness of any reading, has out-topped even the most considerable figures in the long line of his predecessors. The eighth edition of his Greek Testament is an amazing monument of the incessant toil which occupied a life that ended on Dec. 7, 1874, shortly before the completion of his sixtieth year.

A record of his contributions to the critical aids to Textual Criticism has been given by Dr. Caspar Renè Gregory, who with some assistance from Professor Ezra Abbot, has written the first part of the "Prolegomena" to Tischendorf's Greek Testament. Tischendorf³ discovered

¹ "Printed Text," p. 180. "Prolegomena to Greek New Testament," ix. He virtually rejected all Uncials later than the end of the sixth century, except L. X., Δ., Θ, and all Cursives whatever, except 1, 33, 69, *i.e.*, all that sided with the *Textus Receptus*.

² "Prolegomena," xviii. Horne and Tregelles "Introduction to the New Testament," p. 342.

³ P. 91.

fifteen Uncials, including the great Sinaitic manuscript (N), besides using for the first time twenty-three; he edited twenty-one, copied out four, and collated thirteen, not to reckon much labour spent upon more than thirty others, and toil of a smaller kind that is scarce recorded.

In the year 1844, whilst travelling under the patronage of Frederick Augustus King of Saxony, in quest of manuscripts, Tischendorf reached the Convent of St. Catherine, on Mount Sinai. Here observing some old-looking documents in a basketful of papers ready for lighting the stove, he picked them out, and discovered that they were forty-three vellum leaves of the Septuagint Version. He was allowed to take these: but in the desire of saving the other parts of the manuscript of which he heard, he explained their value to the monks, who being now enlightened would only allow him to copy one page, and refused to sell him the rest. On his return he published in 1846 what he had succeeded in getting, under the title of the "*Codex Friderico-Augustanus*," inscribed to his benefactor. In 1859, he was again in the East, being sent by Alexander II., Emperor of Russia, and was received at the convent as an emissary from the Great Protector of the Eastern Church. One night in a conversation with the steward, he was shewn a manuscript, 'written on loose leaves and wrapped in a red cloth,' and was allowed to examine it. He sat up all night with his treasure, for as he said, 'it seemed wicked to sleep.' He found a complete New Testament, a large portion of the Septuagint, the Epistle of St. Barnabas, and a fragment of the Shepherd of Hermas. After this, he was allowed to copy the manuscript, and the Codex was in course of time presented to the Emperor, and is now at St. Petersburg.¹

¹ "Christian Remembrancer," xlv., p. 194. Scrivener's "Plain

Before the discovery of this important manuscript, Tischendorf had issued seven editions of his Greek Testament. In these, so far as the third, he had paid scarcely any attention to the Cursive manuscripts. After that edition, the course of his studies led him to introduce their record into his lists of authorities on passages. The consequence was that his seventh edition has been calculated to differ from the third in 1,296 instances, 'in no less than 595 of which (430 of the remainder being mere matters of spelling) he returned to the readings of the Received Text, which he had before deserted, but to which fresh materials and larger experience had brought him back.'¹ The eighth edition was constructed with the help of the newly discovered Sinaitic manuscript (N) and his attachment to the treasure that he had rescued proved too much for him. He altered his seventh edition in no less than 3,369 instances, generally in compliance with the Sinaitic copy, 'to the scandal,' as Dr. Scrivener justly remarks, 'of the science of Comparative Criticism, as well as to his own grave discredit for discernment and accuracy.'²

Much therefore as we may and must ever feel indebted to Tischendorf for the invaluable results of his labours, we cannot regard him as a man of sober and solid judgment. His zigzag course does not impress us with the soundness of any position upon which he found himself throughout it.

4. But the principles of this School of Textualists have reached their most complete exposition in the "Introduction to the Greek Testament," edited by Professors Westcott and Hort. This edition was founded upon labour in the case

Introduction, pp. 87, 88. Tischendorf, "*Codex Sinaiticus*," "Proleg.," p. xxii. Scrivener, "*Codex Sinaiticus*," vii—ix.

¹ Scrivener, "Plain Introduction," p. 529.

² Ibid.

of both those erudite men extending through nearly thirty years, including the period when as Revisers they were assisting in the Revision of the English Translation. Copies were however printed privately and placed in the hands of all the Revisers. It was not till the revision was out that they became public property. And shortly afterwards an elaborate and ingenious Introduction was published, from the hand, as is stated, of Dr. Hort.¹

The object of the Introduction is evidently to reduce to a definite system the principles of Lachmann, and to advance grounds upon which the testimony of a few authorities standing by themselves may be accepted in preference to the verdict of the great majority of witnesses. Accordingly it is argued that a text which is found in the fourth century, although it was rejected and lay in all but oblivion throughout the succeeding ages,² is the genuine form and therefore must be followed. This doctrine leads to the exaltation of B and \aleph —but especially B³—into such an unique position, that after an examination of these principles and their application, an observer unacquainted with the history of manuscripts would imagine that these two very far surpassed all others both in antiquity and in an indisputable purity of expression. And indeed an attempt is made, based upon a large amount of speculation, but the very slenderest degree of evidence, to add a couple of centuries to their virtual age. But it must ever be remembered that A and C are nearly as ancient as B and \aleph . Indeed, one opinion makes

¹ P. 18. Yet it is true that, 'barely the smallest vestige of historical evidence has ever been alleged in support of the views of these accomplished editors.' Scrivener, "Plain Introduction," p. 531.

² Westcott and Hort, "Introduction," pp. 91, 92, 110, 142. Vol. i., pp. 547, 550.

³ Westcott and Hort, "Introduction," pp. 171, 110.

A only about fifty years younger than B the eldest of the pair.¹ Besides which, according to dates now admitted, B and probably \aleph were produced under the dark gloom of Asian ascendancy; A and C in the light of the most intellectual period of the early Church.

This deference to B, amounting almost to a superstitious adulation,² leads the two learned Professors to follow it whenever it is supported by only slight testimony from other quarters.³ Thus they adopt all the readings already enumerated in the Introduction to this little Treatise, and a vast number of others of the same kind.⁴

For example, they make St. Mark⁵ declare that the dancing-girl who demanded the head of John the Baptist was Herod Antipas' own daughter, and that her name was Herodias, in flat contradiction to the account in St. Matthew as edited by themselves, and at variance also with the history of the family, as given by Josephus.⁶ Again, the Lord is represented by them in St. Luke⁷ as preaching in the synagogues of Judea at the very time which He is said by St. Matthew and St. Mark to have spent in doing the same in the synagogues of Galilee, and when He ought to have been in the latter part of the Holy Land according to the context of the passage itself. Also in Acts x. 19, the Holy Spirit is described as telling St. Peter that two men were

¹ Cooke, "Revised Version," p. 185.

² Scrivener, "Plain Introduction," pp. 529, 530.

³ Westcott and Hort, "Introduction, 230-246.

⁴ Pp. 2, 3:—Occasionally, as in St. Luke xxii. 19, 20; xxiv. 3, 6, 9, 12, 36, 40, 52, even against the authority of B and \aleph .

⁵ St. Mark vi. 22. *αὐτοῦ* for *αὐτῆς*. The context in St. Mark is against this reading, which is besides ungrammatical.

⁶ St. Matt. xiv. 6. Josephus, "Antiq.," xviii., 5, §§. 1, 2, 4.

⁷ St. Luke iv. 44. *Ἰουδαίας* for *Γαλιλαίας*. St. Matt. iv. 23, St. Mark i. 39.

seeking Him, when the seventh verse had made it clear that there were three, viz., two of Cornelius' servants and a soldier who was his constant attendant.¹ And in Acts xii. 25, St. Paul and St. Barnabas are said to have returned from Jerusalem to Jerusalem, when they were really going back from Jerusalem to Antioch. Lastly,—not to make the specimen instances too numerous,—the Professors omit, and the Revisers too, 'the precious verse' (St. Matt. xvii. 21) 'which declares that this kind goeth not out but by prayer and fasting,' notwithstanding that only three manuscripts, B and N and 33, testify by themselves for the omission against a very host of varied witnesses.²

This servile submission to B, in the face of copious testimony, may be also seen in their presentment of proper names. Such are Melitene for Melita, evidently a transcriptional blunder,³ Nazara in two places only for Nazareth,⁴ Beezebul for Beelzebub,⁵ Joanes for Joannes,⁶ the uncouth trunks Koum and Golgoth,⁷ and—also a transcriptional mistake—the singular appellative Titius Justus.⁸ They have also, with

¹ Also Acts xi. 11.

² Dean Burgon, "The Revision Revised," p. 91, 92, supplies these witnesses. Omission of verses is very common with these editors.

³ MELITIHNNHΣOΣ. By eliding the article ἡ, and attaching the first syllable of νῆσος to Μελίτη. Acts xxviii. 1. See Burgon, "Revision Revised," p. 177. The letters in the oldest Uncial Manuscripts had no spaces between them.

⁴ St. Matt. iv. 13 : St. Luke iv. 16. They read elsewhere Ναζαρέθ and Ναζαρέτ.

⁵ E.g. St. Matt. x. 25.

⁶ Though only due to the scribe of B, i.e. also in the parts of N written by that scribe. "Introduction," p. 159.

⁷ St. Mark v. 41 : St. Matt. xxvii. 33 : St. Matt. xv. 22 : St. John xix. 17.

⁸ ONOMATHIOYΣTOY. Insert a second T between the last syl-

more reason and authority on their side, but with needless eccentricity, changed the order of Books, placing the Catholic Epistles before those of St. Paul.

To such results as these Professors Westcott and Hort have been guided in obedience to inexorable theory. Nevertheless, they have here and there sacrificed their consistency to some extent, as, for example, when they have shrunk from disfiguring St. Paul's exquisite description of Charity by the assertion that Charity 'seeketh not what is *not* her own,' and therefore that she adds to numerous sublime traits a freedom from gross violations of the eighth and tenth commandments. But this fitful courage does not keep them from admitting that such a bathos as this might possibly not have offended the inspired taste of St. Paul, inasmuch as they have placed in their margin this stupid blunder of the scribe of B.¹

The Theory of the Cambridge Professors that leads to such results will be explained and sifted in the next chapter. But one feature in it must be noticed here. The authors adduce the slenderest support from actual evidence : ingenious as it is, their course of reasoning is 'entirely destitute of historical foundation.'² Dr. Hort gives no array of authorities in text or notes, and does not build up his theory upon acknowledged or produced facts.

The system thus unfolded has derived greater prominence from its having been mainly adopted by 'Two Members of the New Testament Company' in their defence of the

lable of *ὀνόματι* and the first two of *ἰούσου*, and *Τριῶν* is made immediately, and is due alone to B.

¹ οὐ ζηρεῖ τὰ μὴ ἑαυτῆς after a faulty MS. used by Clement of Alexandria (252 Potter, 92 Migne), who, however (947 Potter, 345 Migne), gives the true words.

² Scrivener, "Plain Introduction," p. 537.

Revisers' Greek Text. No one can read their pamphlet,¹ or examine the readings admitted by a majority of the Revisers and defended by them, without seeing that, although their action is in some respects independent of Drs. Westcott and Hort, they generally uphold the principles advocated by those learned men. Indeed, alterations depending only upon B and \aleph , and sometimes upon B alone with some other support, are frequently preferred in the Revised Version before readings of the Textus Receptus, notwithstanding that the latter are so numerous and strongly attested, that on no other grounds except extreme deference to those Uncials could such a verdict be rejected.

The championship and support of men so learned and illustrious must carry great weight. And the question arises whether it be not so strong as to lead all who admire their great qualities to abide by their conclusions. Or is it possible, that as in the history of much human opinion, even they may have been induced to take a wrong turn in early days, and that they have been led into a valley attractive in itself but whence the best views have been excluded? Strange as such a conclusion might seem, the results of the present inquiry seem to point imperatively in no other direction. And such is the contention of men quite as eminent in this province as the upholders of the opinions just described.

IV. SIGNS OF COMING MATURITY.

Textual Criticism would not be governed by the principles that underlie all movements of human thought, if the strenuous pursuance of so limited a course as the one

¹ "The Revisers and The Greek Text of the New Testament," by Two Members of the New Testament Company, 1882.

recently followed did not provoke a departure in another direction. Accordingly strong opposition was made within the Revisers' Company by a stout minority headed by Dr. Scrivener the first textual critic of the day, and tacitly supported by Members of the Company who had ceased to act, as well as by other deep students of the subject, such as Dean Burgon and Canon Cook. And their advocacy has been developed into the teaching of a Rival and rising School, under which the basis is widened, and the building is being constructed out of all the materials within reach.

1. The labour spent by Dr. Scrivener upon Textual Criticism is well known from his admirable Introduction to the Science, a handbook¹ which leaves hardly anything, if anything, to be desired. Dr. Scrivener's candour, and patient and conscientious consideration of every point that presents itself, and of every opinion resting upon intelligence, are conspicuous in all that he has written upon this subject. And his accuracy, a matter of extreme importance in these matters, stands at the very top of editorial and collational work. 'Let the truth be told,' says the Dean of Chichester, 'C. F. Matthæi and he [*i.e.* Dr. Scrivener] are the only two scholars who have collated any considerable number of sacred codices with the needful amount of accuracy.'²

In 1853, Dr. Scrivener published 'A full and exact Collation of about twenty Greek manuscripts of the Holy Gospels.' In his Introduction he said: 'The following pages comprise a humble yet earnest attempt to revive among the countrymen of Bentley and Mill some interest in a branch of

¹ "A Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament for the use of Biblical Students," by F. H. A. Scrivener, M.A., D.C.L., LL.D., &c., 3rd edition, 1883.

² "The Revision Revised," p. 246.

Biblical learning which, for upwards of a century, we have tacitly abandoned to continental scholars.' The success of this attempt, if limited in these earlier days of Dr. Scrivener's influence to comparatively a small band of scholars, nevertheless has been conspicuous. This work was followed in 1859 by 'An exact Transcript of the Codex Augiensis . . . to which is added a Full Collection of Fifty Manuscripts.' To both of these works valuable Introductions are prefixed, explanatory of the principles of the Science, and containing discussions upon controverted questions, such as whether there are families of Manuscripts, and against the partial use of only a few authorities, as advocated by Lachmann and Tregelles. In 1864, he published 'A Full Collation of the Codex Sinaiticus' (N), with corrections of errata in Tischendorf's editions of the same manuscript. And in the same year he edited for the University of Cambridge a handsome volume containing the great Cambridge manuscript (D). Such, with his 'Plain Introduction' already noticed, have been his chief, but by no means his only works.

The line taken by Dr. Scrivener has uniformly been that all evidence must be employed in comparative or Textual Criticism. Yet not all indiscriminately; but each being assigned its proper value. Thus he by no means accedes to the proposal of neglecting the Received Text. But, on the other hand, he has ever admitted that revision is required, and has been ready to submit to the clear verdict of evidence. He would proceed with far-sighted and wide-viewed caution; and would urge that everything possible should be done to make all documents of whatever sort ready to minister in their several places to well-pondered conclusions.

2. Of about the same age as Dr. Scrivener, but in the enjoyment of better health, the Dean of Chichester is a re-

doubtable champion upon the same side. His first Book in this department was a vindication of "The Last Twelve Verses of St. Mark's Gospel," published in 1871, in which according to the award of the first living judge, he 'has thrown a stream of light upon the controversy, nor does the joyous tone of his book misbecome one who is conscious of having triumphantly maintained a cause which is very precious to him.' Even so unfavourable a judge as Mr. Hammond admits the cogency and success of his arguments.¹ Another, marked with the natural impetuosity of Dean Burgon's controversial style, but bristling with learning, and built upon remarkably strong and detailed foundations, which, as it appears, many of his opponents have not the patience to examine accurately, is "The Revision Revised," a republication of Articles in the "Quarterly Review," with additions, chiefly upon the disputed text in the First Epistle to St. Timothy.² Besides these books the Dean is constantly at work, and is believed to have copious materials for future publication. And his "Letters from Rome" (1862), and sundry letters from time to time in the "Guardian" newspaper, as well as contributions to editions of Dr. Scrivener's "Plain Introduction," to the last of which he has added particulars of three hundred and seventy-four manuscripts previously unknown to the world of letters, are results of toil which has been continued for many years.

Dean Burgon has incurred much misrepresentation. He does not maintain the faultlessness of the Received Text; he is not a devoted adherent of the Alexandrian Codex (A);

¹ "Outlines of Textual Criticism," &c., by C. E. Hammond, M.A., 3rd ed., pp. 116-23.

² 1 Timothy iii. 16. Θεός instead of the advocated θες or θ. See below, "Appendix," vii.

he does not simply count his authorities, or follow the largest number, irrespectively of their weight and value. But he urges that all should be taken into account; 'that the Truth of the Text of Scripture is to be elicited exclusively from the consentient testimony of the largest number of the best Copies, Fathers, Versions;'¹ that that is the Truth which 'enjoys the earliest, the fullest, the widest, the most respectable, and—above all things—the most varied attestation;'² that all the existing Copies must be assembled and accurately collated, the Versions edited, and the Fathers indexed before a revision of the Greek Text can be successfully accomplished;³ that evidence and examination prove convincingly that the Vatican (B) and the Sinaitic (N) manuscripts exhibit really bad, instead of good, texts;⁴ and that all must be rested upon definite external attestation, not upon the shifting sands of conjecture, opinion, taste, and other internal sources of inference.⁵ It should be added, that Dean Burgon surpasses everyone in acquaintance with Patristic evidence of readings.

3. Another learned maintainer of this view of the controversy is Canon Cook, the editor in chief of the "Speaker's Commentary." His controversy with the Bishop of Durham upon the rendering of the last petition in the Lord's Prayer, on which his last and longest letter has remained as yet unanswered, and his treatise upon the "Revised Version of the First Three Gospels," have been important contributions to the literature of this subject. Calm, moderate, weighty in argument, learned, persuasive, he has controverted the main positions of the opposed School in the latter of these two

¹ "The Revision Revised," p. 518.

² *Ibid.*, p. 339.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 125, 247, note.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 11-17, 249, 262-265.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 19-20, 253.

works with great cogency. He maintains that the Vatican (B) and Sinaitic (N) Codices have been unduly exalted; that the Alexandrian (A), which in the Gospels fairly represents the text used by St. Chrysostom and his great contemporaries, is superior to them; that the former two were probably written under the direction of Eusebius; and that the theories and arguments of Drs. Westcott and Hort are destitute of solid foundation.

Also those eminent Scholars, Bishops Christopher and Charles Wordsworth—'Par nobile Fratrum'—the loss of the first of whom we are now deploring,¹ have spoken upon the same side in Charges delivered to the Clergy of their Dioceses, deprecating amongst other things 'too much confidence in certain favourite manuscripts.'²

Nor is this contention without contemporary support upon the Continent. In 1862, Dr. J. G. Reiche warned scholars against the dangerous principles introduced by Lachmann, and the almost superstitious veneration that was then paid to Lachmann's text. And especially he spoke against the practice introduced by that learned scholar of consulting only a few witnesses, observing especially that several of the Versions are older than any manuscripts.³ In 1860, writing from Leyden, A. Kuenen and C. G. Cobet, in the Preface to an

¹ Bp. Chr. Wordsworth, Charge, Nov. 1881.

² I cannot pass on without a tribute to the fearless faithfulness, the vast mass of learning ever at hand, the open munificence, and the administrative capacity of that great man.

'Cui Pudor, et Justitiæ soror,
Incorrupta Fides, nudaque Veritas,
Quando ullum invenient parem?'

³ "Commentarius Criticus," Tomus iii. Ep. ad Heb. et Ep. Cath. continens. Observatio prævia. Cook, "Revised Version," pp. 4-7. Burgon, "The Revision Revised," pp. 380-81.

edition of the Vatican Codex, protested against the notion that because that was the oldest manuscript it therefore possessed an authority paramount to that of all others. On the contrary, they asserted, proving the assertion with a copious array of evidence, that 'there is no kind of error that is not frequently found in that manuscript as in all the rest.'¹ Also at the beginning of 1884, Dr. J. H. A. Michelsen, in the "*Theologisch Tijdschrift*," a monthly magazine published at Leyden, submitted the text of B and \aleph to a vigorous examination. From internal proofs, such as glosses introduced from other passages, readings plainly bad where better exist, and omissions of verses and paragraphs, all copiously illustrated, he drew the conclusion that the so-called Neutral Text is not so good as the advocates of it claim, and directed attention to the dangerous traversing of the principle, '*Quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus*,' which is involved in the acceptance of that form of Text.

Besides these, we may reckon the strong sentiment prevailing in the Roman Branch of the Church. Vercellone, the editor of B, now no more, held no such opinions as those of Extreme Textualism. Ceriani, of Milan, and a learned writer in the "*Dublin Review*,"² seem to represent what is held in those quarters. And the Abbè Martin, of Paris, in his elaborate "*Fascicules*" maintains the same side of the controversy.

It will be seen from this sketch, that so far from questions being already settled amongst the learned and ripe for a general decision which would enjoy universal assent, two Rival Schools are now contending for the ascendancy.

¹ "*Novum Testamentum, ad fid. Cod. Vat.*, ed. A. Kuenén et C. G. Cobet," *Præfatio*, p. xiii. &c.

² Jan. 1884. On "*New Testament Vaticanism*."

The one, of German origin, is strongly and ably maintained in England, and reckons large support amongst Biblical Scholars. The other, headed by the first Textual Critic of the day, and earnestly advocated by accomplished Theologians, counts also among its adherents Roman Catholics in England and on the Continent, including experts in Italy and elsewhere. Therefore careful and respectful consideration is further necessary, in order that after contrasting and weighing the several characteristics of both Schools, we may know from solid considerations which of the two to follow.

CHAPTER IV.

THE SCHOOL OF EXTREME TEXTUALISM.

THEORY OF WESTCOTT AND HORT EXPLAINED AND
REFUTED.

A NEW period began in 1831, when for the first time a text was constructed directly from the ancient documents without the intervention of any printed edition, and when the first systematic attempt was made to substitute scientific method for arbitrary choice in the discrimination of various readings.' So the leading masters in the First of the Rival Schools attribute its foundation to Lachmann.¹ Drs. Westcott and Hort began with Lachmann's principles,² and after many years have brought them to their natural and extreme development in the elaborate system which they have constructed, and which is in the main accepted and upheld by other adherents of this School.³

Therefore the chief characteristics of the teaching of this School, so far as they have been hitherto unfolded in public, may be derived from Dr. Hort's elaborate Introduction.

So far as they are peculiar to the School, they are susceptible of classification under the following heads:—Internal

¹ Westcott and Hort, "Introduction," p. 13.

² Ibid., p. 16.

³ So the two members of the Revisers' Company; Professor Sanday in the "Contemporary Review," Dec. 1881; Archdeacon Farrar, "Expositor," 1882; and a writer in the "Church Quarterly," Jan. 1882.

Evidence, Genealogy, Families or Groups, the worthlessness of the Syrian Text (so-called), and the super-eminent excellence of B and the other representatives of the (so-termed) Neutral Text.¹

1. In dealing with the divergent evidence which is constantly presented in different passages, two main considerations, so Dr. Hort tells us, offer themselves, viz., Which is in itself the most probable reading? and, What is the character of the documents by which it is supported? Now a reading may in the first place be recommended by its own likelihood. It may make better sense than the rival word, or phrase, or clause, or sentence. It may be more in keeping with the author's style of writing, or his matter of composition, as gathered from other passages. But Dr. Hort lays no stress on all this, and urges that the most important part of what is called Internal Evidence consists in acquaintance with the character of the Documents themselves in which the readings are found. Hence his first principle:—'Knowledge of Documents should precede Final Judgments upon Readings.'

Now the character of a Document, he says, depends, (a) chiefly upon its date, (b) next upon the purity or corruption of its text. The character of the text may be discovered by a large comparison of its readings with other ascertained readings, according to careful methods.² Judged in this manner, the Vatican MS. especially, and the Sinaitic also, are predominant, not only by reason of their un-

¹ These terms, Syrian, Alexandrian, Neutral, as used by the two Professors, can only be employed under protest, till they can be proved to have anything but an imaginary existence.

² Westcott and Hort, "Introduction," pp. 30-39. The entire account is too involved to give here.

rivalled antiquity, but also because of the excellence of their text.

2. But now, as Dr. Hort argues, another important factor comes into sight. Scribes transcribed from documents, and thus one document became the parent of the next. So we are introduced to the use of arguments derived from Genealogy. 'All trustworthy restoration of corrupted texts is founded upon the study of their history, that is of the relations of descent or affinity which connect the several documents.'¹ In this way, one manuscript may be found, as Dr. Hort thinks, to have proceeded from another, and the weight of authority from both becomes only the weight of authority possessed by the earlier of the two. Again, two or more documents are observed to be so similar to one another that they must have been transcribed either directly, or through one or more intervening ancestors, from a common original. Accordingly, their united authority, how many soever they are, does not exceed the authority of their single original. But 'identity of reading implies identity of origin;' and the outlines of such a common original may be deciphered in the resemblances of manuscripts, and the purity of a text inferred in discarding individual traces of corruption. Thus Dr. Hort concludes, upon close examination, that B and \aleph were derived from a common original much older than themselves, 'the date of which cannot be later than the early part of the second century, and may well be yet earlier.' This would bring our chief documentary authority nearly back to the Apostolic autographs, and would invest it with paramount importance.

3. The same conclusion is reached by Dr. Hort from a consideration of the families or groups into which docu-

¹ Westcott and Hort, "Introduction," p. 40.

ments are divided by him. History shews that one mainly uniform text has prevailed from the present time as far back as the second half of the fourth century. This he denominates the 'Syrian' text (i.), which he declares to have derived its origin from a recension made at Antioch, and to have come thence to Constantinople, since Antioch was the 'true ecclesiastical parent of Constantinople.'¹ Enthroned thus in the Eastern capital, it became dominant in the Christian world. But there are said by him to have been three other texts 'which can be identified through numerous readings distinctively attested by characteristic groups of extant documents.' These are called by Dr. Hort (ii.) the Western, which was found in Italy, Africa, and other parts of the West, as well as originally in Syria, and dealt largely in paraphrase and interpolation, as may be seen in the Cambridge Codex Bezae (D), its chief existing representative; (iii.) the Alexandrian, of which but little evidence remains; and (iv.) the Neutral, which is free from the peculiarities of either, and of which there are traces, 'indubitable and significant,' 'in the remains of Clement and Origen, together with the fragment of Dionysius and Peter of Alexandria,' and 'in a certain measure in the works of Eusebius of Cæsarea, who was deeply versed in the theological literature of Alexandria.'²

4. It appears, therefore, Dr. Hort continues, that of these four types of text, two are affected with peculiar traces of corruption, viz., the Western which degenerated into paraphrase, and 'incorporation of extraneous matter,' and the Alexandrian, which is oppressed with minor faults, such as 'incipient paraphrase and skilful assimilation.' The Neutral alone of the remaining two reached back to earliest times.

¹ Westcott and Hort, "Introduction," p. 143. ² Ibid., p. 127.

The Syrian is represented as worthless, because it was made up in the fourth century, as is attempted to be proved in the following manner:—

(1.) The analysis of certain passages, of which eight are given, is declared by Dr. Hort to prove that the 'Syrian' Text was made up by an eclectic combination of the readings of other texts into one 'conflate' reading. For instance, in St. Mark vi. 33, at the end of the verse, the 'Neutral' reading is said to be *καὶ προῆλθον αὐτοὺς*, the 'Western' *συνῆλθον αὐτοῦ*, both of which are supposed to be combined in the 'Syriac' into *καὶ προῆλθον αὐτοὺς, καὶ συνῆλθον πρὸς αὐτόν*. Dr. Hort argues at some length that the last phrase spoils St. Mark's diction. And from this and similar instances he draws the conclusion that at some authoritative revision the other texts were blended into a 'form lucid and complete, smooth and attractive, but appreciably impoverished in sense and force, more fitted for cursory perusal or recitation than for repeated and diligent study.'

(2.) The same conclusion is supposed to be reached by the evidence of the Ante-Nicene Fathers, none of whom—it is contended—exhibit a 'Syrian' Text. The Latin Fathers, of course, quote the Western; and they are said to be followed by Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Hippolytus, Methodius, and Eusebius.¹ In the works of Clement of Alexandria, it is maintained that non-Western as well as Western quotations are discoverable, but no 'Syrian;' and in those of Origen all the other kinds of texts can be found, but none, Dr. Hort thinks, of a distinctively 'Syrian' character.

(3.) This position, as Dr. Hort argues, is confirmed by

¹ Westcott and Hort, "Introduction," p. 113.

the internal evidence of various passages, though it is admitted that the authors of the 'Syrian' Text 'may have copied from some other equally ancient and perhaps purer text now otherwise lost.'¹ But Dr. Hort says that examination shews that this text was made up by revisers from the rest, sometimes by following one or other, sometimes by modification, or by combination, or pruning, or by introducing changes of their own when they had none to follow.²

Hence, Dr. Hort concludes that 'all distinctively Syrian readings may be set aside at once as certainly originating after the middle of the third century, and therefore, as far as transmission is concerned, corruptions of the apostolic text.' He even asserts that they can attest nothing by themselves, and do not always add strength to attestations of the other texts, because they may themselves be only derived from the original autographs through those very texts.

5. It follows, he thinks, that the Neutral, where it can be verified, remains as alone the pure representative of the unalloyed Scriptures of the New Testament. It has been already declared that, in his opinion, B and \aleph , the leading MSS. which set forth this text, enjoy a special pre-eminence, because of their superior antiquity, and by reason of their purity of text.

Accordingly, with slight exception, 'readings of \aleph B should be accepted as the true readings until strong internal evidence is found to the contrary, and no readings of \aleph B can safely be rejected absolutely, though it is sometimes right to place them only on an alternative footing, especially where they receive no support from Versions or Fathers.' Of the two, B is the purer, which 'must be regarded as having preserved

¹ Westcott and Hort, "Introduction," p. 115.

² Ibid., p. 118.

not only a very ancient text, but a very pure line of very ancient text,'¹ *ℵ* having on its way fallen upon 'at least two early aberrant texts.'² When therefore B stands with any other leading manuscript alone without *ℵ*, its readings nearly always 'have the ring of genuineness.'³ And 'even when B stands quite alone, its readings must never be lightly rejected.'⁴

Such, so far as the present limits will admit, are the leading points in the Theory of Drs. Westcott and Hort. If it has been improperly portrayed, this is not due to any want of desire to do justice to it.

And indeed even what has been here said, and still more the elaborate treatises in the Introduction and at the end of the text of the Greek Testament, must impress all persons deeply with the patient ingenuity, the critical acumen, and the mastery of the subject evinced by those distinguished scholars.

But whether this Theory has a strong and solid foundation, and will endure the shock of the long examination and vigorous analysis that it is sure to encounter, or indeed whether it has any foundation at all, is quite another matter. The solution which it offers in all difficulties is too suspiciously easy. It almost amounts to this:—'Do not trouble yourself about other authorities, but attend to B and *ℵ*, which will supply all you want.' How can it be right to cast to the winds at least four-fifths of the evidence—if it be not vastly more—and to draw the inferences solely from the remainder? Such a course cannot but carry with it its own condemnation. And on 'studying and testing the Theory, the first thing that strikes a man of logical mind is, that he sees an

¹ Westcott and Hort, "Introduction," p. 251. ² Ibid., p. 249.

³ Ibid., p. 227.

⁴ Ibid., Preface, p. 557.

ambitious and lofty outline, which upon closer examination turns out to be merely cloud reared upon cloud. There is no firm footing for the feet of an inquirer. The impalpable and shadowy nature of the investigation contrasts strangely with the gravity and earnestness of the writer. There is abundance of considerations, surmises, probabilities, generalizations, made both from known particulars of history and from details lying in the memories or in the private note-books of the authors; but an array of facts strong enough to establish satisfactorily each stage in advance is wholly wanting, whilst the leaps made in ardent speculation here and there over wide chasms reveal the insecurity of the country traversed. Proofs are required: and no real proofs are offered. Seldom indeed has a theory been advanced with so few facts for its basis.

Passing now to the examination of the general considerations that are presented, we find too little stress laid upon such Internal Evidence as is grounded upon clear facts or sound sense, and too much upon a classification of documents which rests exclusively upon individual opinion. The real judge of Internal Evidence is the sanctified intellect, applying the conclusions, not of separate minds of a peculiar cast, not of single schools of opinion neutralized by other schools, but of the corporate thought of the Church, resting upon a clear foundation of sense or fact, ascertained in a vigorous exercise of mental power. And the illumination of the sanctified intellect proceeds from the Great Inspirer of the Holy Scriptures themselves, the true Interpreter of their form and meaning, the Source of all the mental strength in the world, the Holy Spirit of the Eternal God. But we do not hear from the Extreme Textualist School of any such judgment, and so they leave their common sense behind

them, and we are told that the Lord's side was pierced before death, that the sun was eclipsed when the moon was full, and that it is possible that St. Paul may have added to the high traits of Charity that she actually refrains from seeking what is not her own. On the other hand, such inferences as are drawn from the natural or known proclivities of copyists must be employed sparingly, and cannot support much weight in the face of positive attestation. And judgments upon the Internal character of documents, unless generally accepted within the boundaries of the Science, or supported by definite, produced, clear reasons, cannot be accepted as foundations to build upon. Even pure antiquity, when evidence is scanty, is too rude an instrument of relative decision. The comparative assessment of the value of ancient origin is not of necessity measured by centuries or decades, because some of the associations of the earliest ages were far from good, and any document may reflect them, whilst another of later date may be more free from such disturbing influences. We do not go back merely to Ante-Nicene times for the Canon of Scripture, or we might find cause to include the Epistle of St. Barnabas in the list of books. At the same time, if we light upon a pure strain of the best antiquity, we cannot fail to be on the right track. Again, there may be a great variety of opinions upon the purity of any text. Drs. Westcott and Hort, and others, rate B and \aleph very high. It may perhaps be more than doubted whether such would be the verdict of critics, if they approached them without knowing what they were. Dr. Scrivener, in his calm and dispassionate manner, places the estimate some way down. Dean Burgon, upon plain and definite grounds, rates them very low. Kuenen and Cobet say that B is full of errors. Till agreement is reached, it is evident that reasons so shift-

ing and unstable can constitute no real pillar of support for any superstructure.¹

Next of Genealogy. Here evidently lurk the pitfalls which are involved in an analogy made the groundwork of an argument. The reasoning is correct, so far as it is impossible for a good copy to be made from a bad exemplar, though to a slight extent external influence, such as the recollection in the copyist of a better guide, may somewhat improve the offspring, like good companionship or the effects of study; or secondly, as to the probability that better as well as worse features will be reproduced in the copies made from it. Again, we are told that, 'so far as genealogical relations are discovered with perfect certainty,' 'being directly involved in historical facts,' 'their immediate basis is historical, not speculative.'² But indeed inasmuch as 'no single step in the descent can be produced, in other words, no genealogical evidence exists,'³ all is precarious instead of

¹ Dr. Hort goes so far as to admit the use of conjectural emendation. ("Introd.," p. 7.) Well may Dean Burgon say, 'Conjectural Emendation can be allowed no place whatever in the Textual Criticism of the New Testament.' This is an established principle (Scrivener, "Plain Introduction," p. 490-1.) It is too dangerous an instrument in the hand of any man, and wholly devoid of authority, which is of the essence of Holy Writ. Besides, the wealth of illustration makes it scarce anywhere needed. "When . . . it was clear that the channels of transmission was sufficient to supply evidence on the text, there was no one thing as to which critical editors were more unanimous than in the rejection of all conjecture in the formation of a text."—Tregelles, "Introduction to the Critical Study," &c., pp. 149, 150.

² Westcott and Hart, "Introduction," p. 63.

³ Dean Burgon, "The Revision Revised," p. 256. The Dean further shows (p. 257) that close relationship is known only in three instances, (1) F. and G.; (2) 13, 69, 124, and 346; and (3) B and \aleph ; and that these are related as brothers (or sisters) or cousins, not in

being historical, and there are no premisses and therefore no inference. Between the actual facts and the supposed conclusion often lies a long space into which speculation is but too apt to enter.

For instance, when Dr. Hort argues that the similarity to one another of those numerous Uncials in what he terms the Syrian class shows that they came from one ancestor, and that although they largely outnumber \aleph and B, they can therefore have at the best only the authority of one ancestor set against another ancestor, he entirely disregards the presumption that a larger number of descendants came from a larger number of ancestors, and that the majority may be only thrust back from one generation to a previous one. In truth, the argument from genealogy—such as it is—conducts the unprejudiced inquirer to results the very opposite to those of Dr. Hort.

Again, when it is assumed that the common ancestor of \aleph and B came into existence in the early part of the second century, there is, so far as genealogy is concerned, a lofty disregard of the obvious truth that generations might be propagated as fast as the pens of scribes would admit; and that after the wholesale destruction of copies in the persecution of Diocletian and Galerius, it is almost certain that transcription must have proceeded at a rapid rate. Genealogy therefore is misleading, for it supplies no warrant for any conclusion as to time, and in fact suggests an untrue analogy. If on other grounds this is a speculative inference, the instinct of such experienced scholars as Drs. Westcott and Hort is entitled to respectful consideration. But it

any direct line of genealogy. To these three instances must now be added, since the discovery of Σ , the affinity between Σ and N. Scrivener, "Plain Introduction," p. 159.

cannot be endorsed by other students than themselves, until it is proved to have foundation in well-authenticated facts duly represented.

But the principle of Genealogy must be regarded on the side of descendants as well as of ancestors. Manuscripts in high repute ought to have been largely copied. Was the great era of Chrysostom, of Basil, of the Gregories, when the Canon of Scripture was settled, and the Faith of Christendom fixed, so innocent of the value of pure Texts, that the learned let the true type preserved in at least two pre-eminently good ones languish in obscurity and disuse? Yet whilst the other form of Text numbers its many hundreds, Dr. Hort reckons only twelve Neutral MSS. in all of the Gospels.¹ Can this fact be accounted anything else than a deliberate and unremitting condemnation of the two documents under investigation? Incidental proofs are not wanting that the character of disputed passages and of manuscripts came under careful discussion during this and the succeeding ages.² It is inconceivable that, amidst the wealth of dissident documents, and at a time when the literary intellect of the world was occupied with ecclesiastical questions, and the monuments of past authorship were being stored, there could have existed such neglect of the purity of the sacred writings of the Church as is taken for granted by Dr. Hort. The abundance of contemporary commentaries forbids such a supposition. Therefore the Vatican and Sinaitic manuscripts cannot but receive very serious discredit from their want of following.

¹ Westcott and Hort, "Introduction," p. 171. These are B, \aleph , T of St. Luke and St. John, Ξ of St. Luke, L., 33, Δ (in St. Mark), C, Z of St. Matthew, R of St. Luke, Q, and P.

² See below, Chapter VII.

Again, the theory of Families, or groups, of manuscripts cannot stand in any definite or clearly cut shape. Since it was first proposed by Bentley, it has passed through constant modifications. The foundations laid by one master have been disturbed by his successor, whose own excavations and masses of cement have been re-made by the next. The difficulties to which the constructors of an inexorable theory have been driven are shown by the severing of one manuscript, after the example of Solomon's award, into portions supposed to belong to three Families. Dr. Scrivener is surely right in describing this process as 'that violent and most unlikely hypothesis, that Cod. A follows the Byzantine class of authorities in the Gospels, the Western in the Acts and Catholic Epistles, and the Alexandrian in St. Paul.'

But it may be asked, is there then no truth at all in the assignment of characters to manuscripts, or in any sort of grouping? And the answer of a candid inquirer must be that there may perhaps be an amount of justice in the connotation of characteristic features, but that great care must be taken not to lay too much stress upon it, and certainly not to draw a few broad and dark lines separating one province from another. And especially, generalizations constructed upon such induction as the case admits, must be employed most sparingly in deductive arguments, or logic will stand aghast.

And as to the Families, or groups, suggested by Dr. Westcott and Hort, there are no doubt a number of documents

¹ "Plain Introduction," p. 472. 'Quæ cum ita sint, sequitur exercitibus rem criticam summa opus esse cautione in adhibenda classium sive recensionum distinctione: quam ut summam normam aut fundamentum ponere et temerarium et frustra est.'—Tischendorf, quoted by Dr. Caspar Renè Gregory, *Prolegomena*, 1884, p. 196.

which ordinarily support the Traditional Text, there are also others which make for what they call the Neutral Text, and others which support Western readings. And there are many that take different sides: and most of those which are generally found on one, occasionally appear on the other. There are also Western readings and Alexandrian readings. But the existence of an 'Alexandrian' text, as distinct from their 'Neutral' text, is more than doubtful. Dr. Hort's description of it is of the vaguest, and the materials of proof, which are all that he can point to, are of the scantiest.

We now come to the position resting upon the supposed posteriority of the so-called Syrian Text. Here again we are in the region of pure speculation unsustained by historical facts. Dr. Hort imagines first that there was a recension of the early Syrian Version, which this School maintains was represented by the Curetonian Version, somewhere between 250, A.D., and 350, at Edessa, or Nisibis, or Antioch.¹ The result of this recension is said to have been the Peshito Version, which has hitherto been referred to the second century. We may remark, by the way, that the Peshito must be got rid of by Extreme Textualists, or it would witness inconveniently before the Fourth century to the 'Syrian' Text. Well indeed may Dr. Hort add 'even for conjecture the materials are scanty.' It would have been truer to the facts to have said, 'for such a conjecture there are no materials at all, and therefore it must be abandoned.'²

But Drs. Westcott and Hort also maintain that an authoritative recension of a much larger character was made after

¹ Westcott and Hort, "Introduction," pp. 136, 137.

² See Dr. Scrivener, "Plain Introduction," pp. 233-4, and Dean Burgon's elaborate proof of the groundlessness of the supposition of any authoritative recension at all, in "The Revision Revised," pp. 272-281.

this at Antioch, and resulted in the formation of the 'Syrian' Text of the Gospels in Greek, which was formed upon the Vulgate, or common Syriac Version. What proof exists anywhere of such an important proceeding? A recension, be it observed, so thorough and so sweeping in its effects, that, according to the theory under consideration, it must have placed the text it produced in such a commanding situation that it has reigned for fifteen centuries without a rival. How could this have occurred without an achievement so great and famous that the report of it must have gone abroad? Surely this must have been another Council of Nicæa, or at least a Council of Ariminum. Such results could not have issued from a mystery like that of the viewless wind. Yet there is positively no record in the history—not to speak of a Council of the Church—but of any single incident justifying the assumption that such an authoritative revision ever took place.¹ Never surely was there such an attempt before made to foist such pure fiction into history. But besides that, the arguments for the formation of a new text in the Fourth century thoroughly break down.

(1.) The evidence in only the eight² instances given is certainly not enough to establish the existence of such a 'conflation,' or a combination of supposed other texts into one eclectic reading throughout the New Testament. But supposing for a moment that these eight were specimens of what constantly occurs, who, from internal evidence alone, can say dogmatically which is posterior—the entire text, or the respective portions of it? Surely the integral whole,

¹ See Burgon's, "The Revision Revised," pp. 272-88; and Cook's "Revised Version," pp. 195-204. Dr. Scrivener calls the two supposed recensions 'phantom revisions.' "Plain Introduction," p. 534.

² Westcott and Hort, Introduction.

which Dr. Hort (p. 134) admits to possess 'lucidity and completeness,' and to be 'entirely blameless on either literary or religious grounds as regards vulgarized or unworthy diction,' has the better title to be held to have been the original form than any of the separate portions. Omission must be a possible fault with all copyists;¹ and indubitable instances show that the scribes of *N* and *B* were habitual offenders in this respect. With reference to the character of the texts, many scholars would not agree with Drs. Westcott and Hort in the value which they set upon a Thucydidean ruggedness.¹

(2.) As to the alleged absence of readings of the Traditional Text from the writings of the Ante-Nicene Fathers, Dr. Hort draws largely upon his imagination and his wishes. The persecution of Diocletian is here also the parent of much want of information. But is there really such a dearth of these readings in the works of the Early Fathers as is supposed? Dr. Scrivener³ maintains that Dr. Hort speaks much too sweepingly. Besides this, Dean Burgon has cited against the readings advocated by the New School more than fifty authorities from Ante-Nicene writings upon five passages.⁴ Are these ten testimonies on an average to each

¹ St. Jerome traces transcriptional error to three sources:—

(1) Vel a vitiosis interpretibus male edita,

(2) Vel a presumptoribus imperitis emendata perversius,

(3) Vel a librariis dormitantibus addita sunt.

Præfatio ad Damasum.

² See note at the end of the chapter.

³ "Plain Introduction," pp. 533-540.

⁴ Last twelve verses of St. Mark; 1 Tim. iii. 16; St. Luke xxii. 43, 44; xxiii. 34; ii. 14. 'The number of Early Fathers,' ending always with Eusebius, is about 100. Burgon, "Last Twelve Verses," p. 21; "The Revision Revised," p. 290. See below, Chapter VI., end. Dean Burgon's command of Patristic evidence is simply mar-

passage to be reckoned as alien to the Traditional Text, or not rather as evident indications of an earlier origin reaching back to the Apostolic age? Besides the Fathers, some of the Versions—notably the Peshito, which is referred by the best critics to the second century¹—that are older than any MSS., give frequent support to the readings of the Traditional Text.

(3.) What is said about Internal Evidence is much too vague and misty to sustain so strong a conclusion. And it is balanced with the candid admission, that after all the peculiar readings of the Received Text may perhaps be derived from 'some equally ancient and perhaps purer text now otherwise lost.'² What seems to Dr. Westcott and Dr. Hort to constitute internal evidence in each instance does not seem so to others. Where is the rock amidst this perilous sand-drift?

We are driven therefore to the characters of \aleph and B as the last refuge of the Theory under examination.

And we cannot but be struck with the great argument in their favour. They are the oldest MSS. in existence. They are extremely handsome, and in some respects are complete.³ Their verdict in the opinion of nearly all judges is entitled to respectful attention.

But besides that they are not much older than A and C, how can Drs. Westcott and Hort get over the central fact that these MSS. have hardly any following in the ages after

vellous. It is to be hoped that he will communicate to the Church the treasures that he must have been long amassing.

¹ See below, Chapter VI.

² Westcott and Hort, "Introduction," p. 115.

³ \aleph is the only complete Uncial copy of the New Testament. B ends at Heb. ii. 14, but is complete so far, except in its numerous omissions.

them, and so have been condemned by Catholic antiquity? They were probably produced about A.D. 330-340,¹ a short time before the Canon of Holy Scripture was settled, when the general subject of the Holy Scriptures must have come under discussion. They just antedated the most intelligent period of the early Church, when the finest intellects in the world were engaged in ascertaining the exact lineaments of 'The Faith once delivered to the saints.' How could these men have escaped from spending particular care upon the Sacred Text? We learn that St. Jerome did so upon the Latin Versions. And the fact, acknowledged over and over again by Dr. Hort, that one uniform text has prevailed from that period till now, surely alone constitutes a decisive condemnation of this so-called 'Neutral Text.'

The period too of the production of these two MSS. is instructive. It was when the Church was all but Semiarian: of this there is no doubt. But it appears also extremely probable that they were made under the direction of Eusebius of Cæsarea, a leader of the Semiarian party. The scribe of the Vatican B is supposed by Tischendorf, with the agreement of Dr. Scrivener and by the admission of Dr. Hort, to have written part of the Sinaitic \aleph .² The date of the execution, as fixed upon other grounds, was about the time when Eusebius was commissioned by Constantine to prepare fifty manuscripts of the Holy Scriptures, and send them to Constantinople. These two MSS. stand unrivalled for the beauty of their caligraphy, and of the vellum on which they are written, and in all respects are just what we should expect

¹ See Cook, "Revised Version," p. 160.

² *I.e.*, 'six conjugate leaves of Cod. \aleph , being three pairs in three distant quires, one of them containing the conclusion of St. Mark's Gospel.' "Plain Introduction," p. 92, note 1.

to have been produced in obedience to an imperial mandate.¹

And, as has been already stated, the text of these two manuscripts is not so perfect as would be necessary, if they were worthy to be placed upon the high pedestal that is prepared for them by their ardent advocates. Dean Burgon after collations extending through many years has supplied figures which it seems impossible to withstand.² The marks of carelessness spread over them, especially prevailing in *N*, are incompatible with perfection. Tischendorf, after collating *B*, speaks of the blemishes that occur throughout.³ Dr. Dobbin reckons 2,556 omissions in *B* as far as Heb. ix. 14, where it terminates.⁴ Vercellone, the editor, tells of 'perpetual omissions,' 'of half a verse, a whole verse, and even of several verses.'⁵ This is just what examination reveals: and *N* is unquestionably worse. Yet doubtless in the temperate words of Dr. Scrivener, 'we accord to Cod. *B* at least as much weight as to any document in existence.'⁶ But we cannot agree with those who rate either it or the Sinaitic extravagantly high: and the fact that these two are frequently found with a few others in a small minority must

¹ See below, Chapter VII. Canon Cook, "The Revised Version," pp. 159-183, argues this admirably. Dean Burgon thinks otherwise.

² "Revision Revised," p. 14, 94-5, 249, cf. 376, 384-6. My own figures, derived from a smaller collation of the five Uncials, agree mainly with those of the Dean, who says that 'the task of laboriously collecting the five "old uncials" throughout the Gospels, occupied me for five-and-a-half years, and taxed me severely.' (P. 376.)

³ "Universa Scripturæ Vaticanæ Vitiositas."

⁴ "Dublin University Magazine," 1859, p. 620. Dr. Dobbin calculates 330 in St. Matthew, 365 in St. Mark, 439 in St. Luke, 357 in St. John, 384 in the Acts, and 681 in the Epistles.

⁵ Burgon's "Letters from Rome," p. 18.

⁶ See "Plain Introduction," p. 116.

make us always examine their testimony, unless it is strongly supported, with suspicion and care.¹

¹ CHARACTER OF *B*.

Judged by the ordinary rules of criticism, the text of *B* is far from being of such a superior character as to warrant the excessive submission that Extreme Textualists claim for it. Thus, besides serious blemishes which have been already mentioned (above, pp. 27-29), we find in the face of superior readings well attested:—

(1.) Omissions of an entire verse, or of a longer passage, having all the appearance of being intrinsically genuine:—

Matt. xii. 47; xvi. 2, 3 (a verse and eight words); xviii. 11; xxiii. 14; Mark vii. 16; ix. 44, 46; xi. 26; Luke xvii. 36; xxiii. 17; John v. 3, 4 (a verse and five words); Acts xxiv. 6, 7, 8 (a verse and fourteen words); xxviii. 29; Rom. xv. 24.

(2.) Similar omissions of more than three words:—

Matt. v. 44 (12 words); xx. 16 (7); 22 (6); 23 (7); xxviii. 9 (7); Mark vi. 11 (15); 33 (4); 36 (4); viii. 26 (6); x. 7 (6); 24 (5); xi. 8 (5); xii. 30 (4); 33 (5); Luke i. 28 (angelic salutation, 4), iv. 4 (5); 5 (5); vi. 45 (5); viii. 16 (6); 43 (6); ix. 55, 56 (24); x. 22 (8); xi. 44 (4); xvii. 19 (5); 24 (4); xxii. 64 (6); xxiv. 1 (4); 42 (4); John i. 27 (7); iii. 13 (5); viii. 59 (7); xiii. 32 (6); xvi. 16 (6); Acts xv. 18 (7); 24 (6); xviii. 21 (11); xxi. 22 (4); 25 (6); Col. iii. 6 (5); 1 Thess. i. 1 (8); Heb. ii. 7 (9); vii. 21 (4).

(3.) Short but important omissions:—

Matt. i. 25. αὐτῆς τὸν πρωτότοκον; v. 22. εἰκῇ; vi. 4, 18. ἐν τῷ φανερῷ; xxvi. 28. καινῆς (Words of Institution); Mark ix. 29. καὶ νηστεία; x. 6. ὁ Θεός; 21. ἄρας τὸν σταυρόν; xiii. 18. ἡ φυγὴ ὑμῶν; xiv. 22-24. φάγετε-τὸν-καινῆς (Words of Institution); 68. καὶ ἠλέκτωρ ἐφώνησεν; Luke vi. 1. δευτεροπρώτῳ; 26. οἱ πατέρες αὐτῶν; xxiv. 53. αἰνοῦντες καὶ; John vi. 51. ἦν ἐγὼ δώσω; xiv. 4. καὶ . . οἶδατε; Acts iii. 6. ἔχειται καί; x. 30. νηστεύων καί; 2 Cor. v. 14. εἰ; Eph. i. 1. ἐν Ἐφῆσῳ; 15. τὴν ἀγαπὴν τήν. Also the frequent omissions of the article, of αὐτός, of Κύριος, of ὁ Ἰησοῦς, and of similar subjects, imports an ungraceful baldness into the text. That many of these omissions, at the least, came from carelessness is shown by several passages being written twice over.—Scrivener, p. 116.

(4.) Readings inferior to those of the Traditional Text:—

Matt. xi. 16. παιδίοις . . ᾧ, κ.τ.λ. instead of agreeing participles.

The arguments therefore advanced by the School of Extreme, or as perhaps it should be called, Extravagant Textualism, break down all along the line. And we are

Matt. xv. 13. omission of τυφλῶν.

xvi. 12. τῶν ἄρτων for τοῦ ἄρτου.

xvii. 22. συστρεφόμενων for ἀναστρεφόμενων.

23. τῇ τριημέρᾳ for τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ.

Mark ii. 5, 9. ἀφίενται for ἀφεῶνται, i.e., his sins were not then actually forgiven!

iii. 29. ἐνοχος αἰωνίου ἁμαρτήματος for κρίσεως.

xvi. 4. ἀνακεκύλισται for ἀποκεκύλισται.

Luke ii. 14. ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκίας. No rhythm and inferior sense.

xii. 56. Clumsy repetition of οὐκ οἶδατε δοκιμάζειν for δοκιμάζετε.

xxii. 55. περιεψάντων δὲ πῦρ for ὑψάντων.

Acts xxvii. 13. περιελόντες for περιελθόντες.

Rom. v. 1. σάρκινος for σαρκικός.

1 Cor. iii. 1. σαρκίνους for σαρκικούς.

James i. 20. ἐργάζεται for κατεργάζεται.

2 Pet. ii. 12. καὶ φθαρήσονται for καταφθαρήσονται.

5. Changes obviously injurious to the sense :—

Matt. xi. 23. Too like a jeer, instead of dignified sorrow.

xiv. 29. ἦλθεν for ἐλθεῖν. St. Peter failed in the coming.

xxviii. 19. βαπτίσαντες for βαπτίζ.—supposing that disciples were to be made after, instead of by, Baptism.

Mark vii. 3. εἰς Σίδωνος. A geographical solecism.

Luke x. 42. ὀλίγων δὲ χρεία ἐστὶν ἢ ἐνός.

xvi. 12. ἡμέτερον for ὑμέτερον,—a patent blunder.

Acts xxv. 13. ἀσπασάμενοι for ἀσπασόμενοι, i.e., greeted Festus first, and then went to see him!

1 Cor. xiii. 3. καυχῆσμαι for καυθήσωμαι.

1 Thess. ii. 7. νήπιοι for ἡπιοι.

Tit. ii. 5. οἰκουροὺς ἀγαθὰς for οἰκουρούς.

(6) Changes spoiling or injuring the Grammar :—

Matt. viii. 5. εἰσελθόντος αὐτοῦ προσῆλθεν αὐτῷ.

xv. 32. ἡμέραι for ἡμέρας. Awkward change of grammatical subject.

39. τὸν πλοῖον.

xxi. 19. οὐ μηκέτι γίνηται.

Mark iii. 28. βλασφημία ὅσα ἐὰν βλασφημήσωσιν (ὅσας ἂν).

driven to seek a secure position amongst the entrenchments of the Rival School.

Mark vi. 21. θυγατὸς δρχησαμένης the subject to ἤρπεν.

xi. 19. ὅταν γένητο.

22. ὃ ἐὰν εἴπῃ.

xiii. 14. τὸ βδελύγμα . . . ἐστηκότα.

xiv. 35. ἐπιπτεν for ἔπεισεν :—glaringly the wrong tense.

Luke xvii. 6. εἰ ἔχετε (for εἵχετε) ἐλέγετε ἂν.

Acts xvi. 13. οὐ ἐνομίζομεν (for ἐνομίζετο) προσευχὴ εἶναι.

xiii. 7. τῶν Φαρισαίων καὶ (omit τῶν) Σαδδουκαίων.

Rom. v. 1. ἔχωμεν for ἔχομεν.

1 Pet. iii. 1. ἵνα κερδηθήσονται (for —σονται). So Luke xiv. 10. ἵνα ἔρῃ.

This list might be easily and largely increased, besides that bad spelling—to call a spade a spade—is constant in this manuscript. See Scrivener, "Plain Introduction," pp. 543-552. Burgon, "The Revision Revised," pp. 315-317, and reff. there given. Cook, "Revised Version," pp. 136-141. Michelsen, in "Theologisch Tijdschrift," Jan. 1844. See also Kuenen and Cobet, "Novum Test. ad fidem Cod. Vatican." Leyden, 1860. Præfatio. κ is admitted everywhere, except in the fond eyes of Tischendorf and of a few admirers here and there, to be greatly inferior to B.

CHAPTER V.

THE RIVAL SCHOOL.

TENETS OF THE RIVAL AND SOUND SCHOOL STATED AND CONSIDERED.

IN treating of Extreme Textualism, so much has been borrowed from the representations of the Rival School, which of late years has perhaps been chiefly known in resistance to aggressive tenets, that much less explanation of the principles maintained in it is now needful than would otherwise have been required. Nevertheless the position of the chief doctors in this School must be defined. Their attitude has been frequently and indeed strangely misrepresented. Besides which, their teaching is given, not merely in opposition or protest, but in clear and definite expression of principles.

1. And first, it must be remarked, that it is unjust to insinuate that they are set against all revision of the Greek Text. They would not be Textualists at all if they were not ready to adopt what are really the verdicts upon all the evidence. 'Again and again,' says Dean Burgon, 'we shall have to point out that the Textus Receptus needs correction.'¹ No one can read Dr. Scrivener's "Plain Introduction," a work which every clergyman should possess and study, without observing that so stiff an adhesion to the Text received from the last three centuries has no place in

¹ "The Revision Revised," p. 21, note.

his thoughts. Quotation or proof of so notorious a circumstance are absolutely unnecessary.

Nor again must it be imagined that discrimination in the employment of authorities is repudiated by them. Whilst Dr. Scrivener rejects the idea of families of manuscripts, he allows that grouping in a moderate manner is necessary in order to judge of their character and value. 'Now that theories about the formal recensions of whole classes of these documents have generally been given up as purely visionary, and the very word *families* has come into disrepute by reason of the exploded fancies it recalls, we can discern not the less clearly that certain groups of them have in common not only a general resemblance in regard to the readings they exhibit, but characteristic peculiarities attaching themselves to each group.'¹ It is inevitable that one document should have a high reputation, and another be rated deservedly low. The relative antiquity, the circumstances attending the production so far as they are known, the nature of the text so far as it reveals itself to clear and definite criticism, are admitted as demanding to be taken into account. Objection is felt to 'the glorification' of a few, so as to make them almost 'objects of superstition and idolatry:' but there the objection ceases.

2. The leading principle of the School is that all authorities should be fairly and relatively weighed. The old Uncial manuscripts according to their age and character, the later Uncials of the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries, the Cursive manuscripts from the tenth century onwards; the Versions with reference to their antiquity and excellence; Lectionaries, as they were accredited and agreed with one another and with other manuscripts; and quotations from

¹ "Plain Introduction," pp. 553, 4. The italics are Dr. Scrivener's.

Fathers after their ascertained merit.¹ There is much work to be done in editing, collating, and indexing before this vast mass of evidence is ready for use. Thus these men widen the basis, and endeavour to build their superstructure upon the broadest and surest foundation. If it be objected that the work of revision is indeed formidable and must be delayed under this method of proceeding for many years, the answer is ready. It is dangerous to meddle with the Holy Scriptures, which are bound up so closely with the Faith. The changes proposed are numerous and momentous: and what if they are found to be really corruptions and depravations of the Sacred Deposit? Reverence and caution are essential in the things of God. Whatever is done must by all means be well done. A few years, or a life-time or two, long indeed in our sight, are little in the history of mankind, and still less in the eyes of Him with whom we have to do. It is better to aid humbly in a steady and wise advance than to attempt hastily to settle questions, and to end by unsettling them.

3. Such is the general system of this school of Sound or High Textualists. But in one grand point the school is at issue with the last. Extreme Textualism seems to look upon any support derived from the Traditional or Received Texts as merely supplying to readings a title to be abused and spurned,² instead of securing for them considerations of respect. Yet the fact, admitted several times by Drs. Westcott and Hort,³ that the Traditional Text is fifteen hundred years old, ought surely

¹ For particulars, see below, Chapters VIII. IX.

² Any reading labelled by Dr. Hort as 'Syrian,' is summarily rejected by him with something very like ignominy.

³ See above, p. 26, note 2.

to ensure for it other treatment. Is it probable that St. Chrysostom, the Gregories, and St. Basil, amidst an abundance of early manuscripts, with which our present stores could not be mentioned on the same day in comparison for antiquity and value, would all have been led away in the company of their great contemporaries to prefer an inferior strain of copies? Is it likely, that if they had missed the right turn, their successors in the following ages would not have discovered that they were on the wrong road, and would have failed to work back into the Royal Highway? Is it indeed possible that the great King of the new Kingdom, Who has promised to be with His subjects 'alway even unto the end of the world,' should have allowed the true text of the written laws of His Kingdom to lurk in obscurity for nearly fifteen hundred years, and a text vitiated in many important particulars to have been handed down and venerated as the genuine form of the Word of God? Could the effect of the sacred Presence of the Holy Ghost in the Church be looked for in any more important and peculiar province, than in the preservation of the fashion and lineaments of that body of written records and teaching which He Himself has inspired?

Therefore the Rival School of Sound or High Textualists is right in attributing the greatest importance to the Traditional Text, as the Text undoubtedly handed down in the Church, and importance also to the Received Text, as an excellent though by no means an exact exponent of the former of the two. This is a matter of so much moment, that the present inquiry would be far from complete, even in the limited scope which belongs to a concise guide to the main features of Textual Criticism, if it did not include a description of the salient points in the history of the Sacred Text,

so far as it is known. Error usually arises from our ignoring some essential element. And the question really is, whether we ought to make a clean sweep of the past, except so much as dates of documents are concerned, and rest solely upon the uncertain glimmer of criticism formed centuries after the materials for that criticism were produced, or whether we cannot indeed discover in the course of actual events, so far as they have been made known to us, the virtual determination of this important controversy, and solid grounds of judgment which may compel and sustain a mature and sound decision.

But before entering upon a brief view of such history, one remark is needed as to the nature of the points at issue.

They depend upon an estimate of proportion,—how much value we ought to attribute to this point, and how much to that. The evidence is mainly before us, and its existence is undisputed. This indeed is the pivot upon which judgments must turn. As in sculpture, symmetry and beauty of form depend upon each limb and feature being represented in due measure, and he carries about with him the true sculptor's eye, who with readiness and precision sees where any part of the outline is enlarged or diminished or out of place; so in our decisions, whether of a pettier or a more weighty kind, the greater part of them are involved in the stress that we lay, or do not lay, upon the particulars presented to us—in fact, upon the proportion which they severally assume in our view. We may indeed err from insufficiency of evidence, or narrowness of survey: but more often our success or failure is determined by correctness or error in laying emphasis, or else by just or false discernment in the formation of our estimate.

CHAPTER VI.

HISTORY OF THE TRADITIONAL TEXT TILL THE ERA OF
ST. CHRYSOSTOM.

EARLY CORRUPTION. A PURE LINE. EARLY VERSIONS.
RISE WITHIN THE CHURCH OF SEMI-SCEPTICAL PHILO-
SOPHY, AND PRODUCTION OF A VITIATED TEXT. PROOF
OF THE PREVALENCE OF THE TRADITIONAL TEXT.

COMPARATIVE Criticism must not be prosecuted in the case of the writings of the New Testament upon exactly the same principles as those which prevail in ascertaining the text of Classical Authors. It is true that generally speaking what is sound in the one case cannot be gainsaid in the other. The verdict of the manuscripts must be taken according to the principles dictated by critical acumen and established by experience. But Sacred criticism superadds some considerations of a very grave nature.

In the first place, the mass of materials of criticism is so vast, and the wealth of attested readings is so great, that there is no need of any Conjectural Emendation. The sole duty of the Textual Critic is found in assembling, weighing, and balancing the different kinds of evidence that can be brought to bear upon the passage under review. There is no demand therefore for conjecture; it is an ascertainment of facts: besides that conjecture or surmise are entirely ex-

cluded by reason of the peculiar dignity and loftiness of the subject.¹

Secondly, the position of the Holy Scriptures as inspired by God the Holy Ghost must never be allowed to pass out of recollection. The great Inspirer of the Writings is also Himself the great Guide of the Church. Accordingly, the overruling care exercised by Him according to promise is a factor all through the history which must ever be borne in mind. Not of course that evil has been excluded from co-existing along with the good—such is the universal experience: but nevertheless the Church, as the 'Witness and Keeper of Holy Writ,' has, under His direction, cast out the evil from time to time, and has kept to a generally defined course. Serious errors might have been committed in the transmission of the works of Homer, or of Thucydides, or of Aristotle: and indeed many of the books of the last of these are supposed to have perished. But it can hardly be conceived that the Holy Ghost, after communicating His Inspiration in the composition of books, would in the midst of His overruling care have allowed those books to be varied according to changing winds of human opinion and human action, without the maintenance throughout of a form mainly at least free from error. It can scarcely be but that a succession of copies pure from any great corruption must have existed, and existed too in predominance, all down the Church's history.

Thirdly, although the separate books of the New Testa-

¹ See above, p. 47, note 1. Indeed, Conjectural Emendation in editing classical writings must ever be hazardous, and is not now rated nearly so high as it used to be. Dindorf's earlier text of Sophocles is much better than his later one. Successive editors usually return to the unamended text.

ment were unquestionably the productions of separate authors, and bear the traces of a distinct personality in each instance, it would be nevertheless wrong to regard them—especially the Gospels—as solely individual compositions. In their corporate, apart from their individual aspect, they were embodiments of a Teaching and Faith, which had been imparted to the Church, and taught by the Church, before those books were severally written. Immediately after the Lord's Ascension and the coming of the Holy Ghost, there came into operation a continual exercise of oral teaching, which must have gradually assumed definite system and recognised fashion and form. Since the events of our Lord's Life must have been related continually in all evangelizing action, and there must of necessity have been a large number of eager narrators, and since the subject too was one that must have enlisted all the reverence in their souls, there must also have been at work a never-ceasing corrective criticism, under which the stories told must have become, so to speak, almost stereotyped with few variations.¹ In course of time, when either the converts demanded manuals for elementary information, or Lectures were needed

¹ The accordance in so many respects with one another of the Synoptic Gospels has been explained upon three main theories:—

- (1) That the Evangelists made use of a common document, or common documents, (Eichhorn),
- (2) That the later Evangelists made use of the writings of their predecessor, or predecessors, (Townson),
- (3) That each Gospel was made up from a permanent type of oral teaching, (Gieseler.) See Lee on "Inspiration," Appendix L.

The last seems to me to be the best explanation, as being truest to the facts. Cf. St. Luke i. 1-4. *Τῇ ἀγραφῇ τοῦ θείου κηρύγματος διδασκαλίᾳ.* Euseb. "Hist. Eccl." ii. 15. Papias, *τὰ παρὰ ζώσης φωνῆς,* Eus. "H. E." iii. 39. Irenæus, *Λουκᾶς . . . τὸ ὑπ' ἐκείνου κηρυσσόμενον εὐαγγέλιον ἐν βιβλίῳ κατέθετο.* Eus. "H. E." v. 8.

in the celebrations of the Holy Eucharist or in services of Common Worship, or when the want of authorized writings was felt in the studies of the faithful or in arguments with heretics, written records became requisite. The care of the Tradition and of reducing it to writing fell upon a body of men told off for the purpose under the special name of Evangelists.¹ The foundation of all was public: and it is therefore the more probable, as it is on all grounds possible, that alterations of a lesser kind might have been introduced in what may have been practically successive editions of the Holy Gospels. Besides this, in the presence of such an amount of oral teaching, which had been rendered necessary by the absence of accredited writings for some years, it could scarcely be but that in an early multiplication of copies, when those writings had been made, mistakes of various kinds would be extensively introduced, and would be very hard to expel.

Very soon, therefore, after the books of the New Testament were written, corruption began to affect them. Error

¹ Eph. iii. 11. Acts xxi. 8. 2 Tim iv. 5. The two functions of Evangelists, *i.e.* to preach and to have the special care of the Word (*τὴν τῶν θείων εὐαγγελίων παραδίδόναι γραφήν*) is declared by Eusebius, "H. E." iii. 37. St. Matthew wrote for the Hebrew Christians, St. Mark for the Church at Rome—in compliance with request (Eus. "H. E." ii. 15)—and St. Luke for the Corinthian Church. So the couplet attributed to Gregory Nazianzen—

Ματθαῖος μὲν ἔγραψεν Ἑβραίοις θαύματα Χριστοῦ,
Μάρκος δ' Ἰταλίῳ, Λουκᾶς Ἀχαιοῖσι,

I.e., for Italy and Achaia, as Ἑβραίοις shows, not as Townson takes it, *in* each of those places. St. Luke, as it appears to me, most probably wrote his Gospel during St. Paul's imprisonment at Cæsarea, when that Providential arrangement gave a pause in labour, and an excellent opportunity of collecting materials upon the spot over Judæa, Galilee, and Samaria.

has been said to have arisen from four other sources. First, there was a determined wish to alter the Holy Scriptures, so that they might witness to the heretical doctrines that were from time to time taken up.¹ Then, on the other hand, it has been asserted that the orthodox have not been free from a form of doing evil that good might come, in that they may perchance have tampered with the sacred Text, in order to convict of error assailants of the Faith. But in recent times especially, this species of error has been vastly exaggerated:² and as far as it did exist it was chiefly found in the middle ages, and on occasions when holiness and uprightness had descended for the moment to lower levels. Next, a great deal of debasement must be attributed to the carelessness of scribes, chiefly before the act of transcribing was brought to the perfection which it was reaching after the seventh century. And lastly, and especially in early times, ignorance of the Greek language, or of the doctrine delivered, was a fruitful cause of error.

In the first years, the scarcity of written records cannot have failed to produce much inaccuracy. And the slowness with which the true Faith on the subject became established amongst the newly converted, many of whom were Christians in name more than in anything reaching as far as sound belief, affected not only an universal acceptance of the Canonical Books, but a reception of the text of those books. Gnostic doctrines were soon found in conflict with the words

¹ αἱρετικῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀναπλάσματα. Eus. "H. E." iii. 25.

² Mr. Hammond ("Outlines of Textual Criticism") remarks that 'there appears no strong ground for the suggestion,' that any 'alterations for dogmatic reasons' exist. See Scrivener, "Plain Introduction," p. 18, note. This is almost a *bête noire* with some writers, who have rested it upon supposition, rather than authentic facts. See below, Chapter IX.

and composition of the New Testament. And indeed this could not have been otherwise. For Gnosticism was an attempt to combine the existing philosophy with the newly-revealed Christian Teaching. As soon therefore as Christian Doctrines were expressed in an authoritative shape, Gnosticism found itself in opposition to them. Thence arose constant attempts to mould the writings that came forth into such form and expression as would not be at variance with tenets agreeing with, or not so repugnant as Christianity to, the old philosophy and the ideas previously entertained.

The Books of the New Testament did not exist soon enough for Simon Magus, Cerinthus, and the other heresiarchs of the first period of Gnosticism, to direct their assaults upon them. But Basilides, who lived in the earlier half of the second century,¹ a native of Alexandria, the chief seat and centre of Gnosticism, rejected the Pastoral Epistles and the Epistle to the Hebrews,² and added other books to those which were canonically recognised.³ After him Valentinus is said by Tertullian to have corrected the text and to have boldly maintained that readings introduced by him were older than the words generally received.⁴ Marcion went much further. He divided the New Testament into two parts, 'The Gospel,' and 'The Apostolicon.' Of these, 'the Gospel' was a recension of St. Luke with numerous omissions and variations from the received text. The Apostolicon contained the Epistles of St. Paul, excluding the Pastoral

¹ Probably about 117-138 A.D. Wordsworth, "Church History." vol. i., p. 195.

² See Westcott, "On the Canon," p. 296.

³ Euseb. "H. E.," iv. 7.

⁴ "De Præscriptione Hæreticorum," § 30.

Epistles and that to the Hebrews.¹ According to Tertullian and Epiphanius, he 'mutilated and depraved' the text both of Epistles and Gospels.² The followers of these men, as was natural, went beyond their leaders. Nor must Tatian be omitted, a disciple of Justin Martyr, and founder of the Sect of the Encratites. His "Diatessaron," or Harmony of the Gospels, had such a circulation that Theodoret in the fifth century found in the churches of his diocese alone upwards of two hundred copies, and objected so much to the mischievous spirit in which the work had been executed, that he substituted in their room the Gospel of the Four Evangelists.³ It is surely not wrong to trace to these influences much of the corruption which is repeatedly declared by writers about the end of the second century to have vitiated the sacred Text.

Thus Dionysius of Corinth says that he must not be surprised when people altered his writings by additions and omissions, if they tampered in like manner with the Holy Scriptures.⁴ St. Irenæus tells the same story, and appears to have had the same fear.⁵ Clement of Alexandria complains

¹ Westcott, "On the Canon," p. 314. Burgon's "Last Twelve Verses," p. 95.

² Westcott, p. 314. The learned Professor doubts however whether this was really true as to the Epistles. Burgon, "Last Twelve Verses," p. 94, note. Dean Burgon, "Revision Revised," pp. 34, 35, traces the mutilation of the Lord's Prayer in St. Luke by B and N to Marcion.

³ See Burgon's "Last Twelve Verses," pp. 317, 318. The Dean quotes from "Hæret. Fab.," i., 20 (Opp. lv., 208), which I have verified. On the authority of a scholion, the Dean traces to Tatian (and Diodorus) the strange insertion by B and N of the piercing of the spear into the account of St. Matt. xxvii. 49, before the record of our Lord's death.

⁴ Euseb., "H. E.," iv., 23.

⁵ Euseb., "H. E.," v., 20. Irenæus, "Contra Hæres," iv. 6, 1.

of people who introduce change into the Gospels.¹ An unknown writer, quoted by Eusebius, inveighs against heretics who laid hands without fear upon the Divine Scriptures, under the pretence of correcting them.² Origen speaks of the disagreement between the various manuscripts; and adds, 'But now, great in truth has become the diversity of copies, be it from the negligence of certain scribes, or from the evil daring of some who correct what is written, or from those who in correcting add or take away what they think fit.'³

And yet indications are not wanting that exceeding care was taken by the orthodox to preserve the Holy Books in their genuine and unimpaired form. Tertullian, in arguing with heretics, bids them consult the autographs of the Apostles at Corinth, or Thessalonica, or Ephesus, or Rome, where they are preserved and read in public.⁴ St. Irenæus refers in one place to 'the approved and ancient copies' for settling the number 666 in the Revelation; and in another gives most particular directions as to the careful and correct copying of a book of his own.⁵ We cannot be wrong in seeing in this latter instance, as well as in the signatures attached with extreme care to the end of the account of the

¹ Stromata, iv., 6. Scrivener, "Plain Introduction," p. 508 note.

² Euseb., "H. E.," v., 28. Probably Caius: Mill, "Prolegomena," p. lxii., Routh, "Reliquiæ sacræ."

³ "Comment. on Matt.," Tom. iii., p. 671, *De la Rue*, quoted by Scrivener, "Plain Introduction," p. 509. I have thought it well to give unaltered Dr. Scrivener's translation, but have verified the quotation.

⁴ "Ipsæ Authenticæ Literæ. De Præscript. Hæret.," p. 36, and Routh's Note, "Opuscula," pp. 205, 6, which Dean Burgon kindly points out.

⁵ τοῖς σπουδαίοις καὶ ἀρχαίοις ἀντιγράφοις. "Contra Hæres.," v. 30, 1. Euseb., "H. E.," v. 20.

Martyrdom of St. Polycarp, a reflection of the conscientious accuracy, fortified in every way, which must have directed the copying out of the best and accredited manuscripts. And the deep and loving reverence, in which the Holy Scriptures were held, is shewn later on in the severe condemnation of those who gave them up during the violent persecution under Diocletian, and in the fact that a Sect¹ arose upon the question of the amount of punishment which should be meted out to such betrayers² of the Sacred Books.

But the original autographs perished, and nothing has descended to us about them after the expressions employed by Tertullian.

We are, however, not left to secondary evidence for proof that the Traditional text was used and handed on in Ante-Nicene days. The witness of separate ecclesiastical writers upon controverted passages, proving that they had in their possession manuscripts agreeing with the Text afterwards adopted generally in the Church, and the renderings of the early Versions, especially the Syriac and Italic, establish satisfactorily this position, as will subsequently appear.

Early in the second century development in the spread of the Holy Scriptures was made in two directions.

That robustness of the stem of the Church which grew up at Antioch is indicated in two striking particulars recorded in the Scriptural account. The religion in that place was so genuine and characteristic, that the name was first applied there to the converts which the followers of the Lord have kept ever since. And from that city, replete with vice and degradation but the site of a structure of wondrous holiness and zeal,—preferred as the source of such evangelization

¹ Donatists.

² 'Traditores,' the technical name which was used.

before Damascus and even Jerusalem,—the great Apostle of the Gentiles was sent forth on his ever famous journeys.

In the same spirit, the Holy Scriptures were in very early times, whether at Antioch, or in Palestine, or elsewhere, translated into 'a tongue understood of the people.' No record remains of the occasion when this translation was effected, or of the mode of action, or of the actors. The good was to be wrought, and it was done. Aramaic, or Syriac, was a more flexible language than the Hebrew. The Peshito, or 'Simple' Version has remained certainly since the sad divisions wrought in the Syrian Church during the fifth century, because the Nestorians and Monophysites, as well as the Christians of St. Thomas in India and the Maronites of Lebanon, all use it to this day, and prove therefore by such use that we must go back for its origin at least to the time when they had not separated. And it appears most probable, that it was that which was read at the first in Syria.¹ Hegesippus, in the second century, seems to speak

¹ Since the discovery of the Curetonian Version in Syriac by Archdeacon Tattam in 1842 and Canon Cureton, Extreme Textualists have maintained that it was older than the Peshito on these main grounds:—

1. Internal evidence proves that the Peshito cannot have been the original text.
2. The Curetonian is just such a text as may have been so, and would have demanded revision.
3. The parallels of the Latin texts which were revised in the Vulgate suggests an authoritative revision between A.D. 250 and 350.

These arguments depend upon a supposed historical parallel, and internal evidence.

The parallel upon examination turns out to be illusory:—

1. There was a definite recorded revision of the Latin Texts, but none of the Syrian. If there had been, it must have left a trace in history.
2. There was an 'infinita varietas' ("August. De Doctr. Christ.," ii.

of a Syrian translation,¹ and Melito quotes 'the Syrian' in 170² A.D. Ephraem of Edessa speaks of this Version as used familiarly for the national Scriptures in the fourth century.³ The Peshito resembles the Received Text. It may have been actually in the hands of St. John.⁴ It did not include all the Catholic Epistles, or the Revelation. The Peshito has been called 'The Queen of Versions.'

Soon afterwards, or about the same time, other Versions were made in the West. It was not likely that the great Latin Branch of the Church should continue long without translations of her own. There appear to have been a large number of translations made independently of one another, from the expressions used by St. Jerome and St. Augustine. 'There are almost as many standards of the text as there

11) of discordant Latin texts, but only one Syriac, so far as is known.

3. Badness in Latin Texts is just what we should expect amongst people who were poor Greek scholars, and lived at a distance. The Syrians on the contrary were close to Judea, and Greek had been known among them for centuries. It was not likely that within reach of the Apostles and almost within their lifetime a Version should be made so bad as to require to be thrown off afterwards.

As to internal evidence, the opinion of some experts is balanced by the opinion of other experts (see Abbè Martin, "Des Versions Syriennes," Fasc. 4, obligingly lent me by Dr. Scrivener). The position of the Peshito as universally received by Syrian Christians, and believed to date back to the earliest times, is not to be moved by mere conjecture, and a single copy of another Version. The Abbè Martin, after minute examination, assigns the Curetonian to the opening of seventh century.

¹ Euseb., "H. E.," iv., 22, τοῦ Συριακοῦ εὐαγγελίου.

² Mill, "Prolegomena," p. cxxvii, ὁ Σύρος.

³ Scrivener, "Plain Introduction," pp. 312, 321-4.

⁴ Bishop Ellicott, "On Revision," pp. 26, 27, quoted by Dean Burgon, "The Revision Revised," p. 9. The Peshito omits the 2nd Ep. of St. Peter, the 2nd and 3rd of St. John, the Epistle of Jude and the Revelation. MSS. exist from early in Cent. V.

are manuscripts,' said St. Jerome.¹ And St. Augustine speaks of 'the infinite variety of Latin translations,' and again of 'the multitude of translators.'² Both of those great Fathers tell of the untrustworthiness of the Versions. And no wonder. Whilst in Syria Greek was well understood, and it must have been easy there to get at the autographs themselves, or at excellent copies made directly from the autographs, in Italy, Africa, and in the other parts of the West, accurate acquaintance with Greek was comparatively rare, and the distance must have led to a large crop of mistakes. Much obscurity hangs over the old Latin Versions: but it appears probable that they included three groups, African, European, and Italian. The Italian was preferred by St. Augustine.³

Later than the Syrian and Latin translations, but probably dating back as far as the end of the Second Century,⁴ we find the Memphitic and Thebaic Versions. Alexandria very soon became one of the most active centres of Christian teaching. Philosophy and Christianity there came into collision.

¹ "Prefatio ad Damasum:" "Si enim Latinis exemplaribus fides est adhibenda, respondeant quibus: tot enim sunt exemplaria pene quot codices."

² "De Doctrina Christiana," ii., 11, 15. He speaks again and again of 'diversitates interpretum,' and so forth.

³ "Old Latin Biblical Texts," i., Introduction, p. xxx, by Professor Wordsworth, who adopts the classification of Westcott and Hort. Professor Sanday, in "Some Further Remarks on the Corbey St. James (ff.)," No. XI. of the Oxford "Studia Biblica," p. 236, which he has courteously sent me, considers that there were two fundamental main stocks, the African and the European. The f family, otherwise called Italian, the Professor supposes, after scholarly and minute analysis, to be a revision of the European. Dr. Hort too considers the Italian class to consist of Revisions.

⁴ Bishop Lightfoot, in Scrivener's "Plain Introduction," p. 371.

The Memphitic, or Bahiric, sometimes but with not so much propriety called the Coptic, Version was the production of Lower Egypt. It is, speaking broadly, a fair rendering of the Greek, but generally agrees with B and N and the few MSS of that class. It omits the Apocalypse.

The Thebaic or Sahidic, was the Version of Upper Egypt. This translation is generally of a character similar to the Memphitic, but having had its field away from Alexandria, does not resemble the class of MSS just mentioned so much as its neighbour does. The Apocalypse appears not to have formed part of it.

'Alexandria may be called the mother of systematic theological science.'¹ Situate near to an isthmus uniting two continents and dividing two seas, from a commanding position of unrivalled convenience it attracted to itself the literature of East and West. Greek language and art had settled down with a 'remarkable after-growth' into what was termed Alexandrinism.² Asia contributed much of her dreamy philosophy. The traditions of Egyptian lore had not perished. There flourished here a colony of Jews so strong and so greatly Hellenized that they required a translation for themselves of the Hebrew Scriptures into Greek.³ And as the instance of Philo shews, they had learned to mingle a tone of Platonism with their Jewish belief.

It was not unnatural therefore that the celebrated Catechetical School should rise in such a place. Alexandria was soon known as one of the headquarters of the Early Church.

¹ Bishop Chr. Wordsworth, "Church History to Council of Nicæa," p. 251.

² See Mommsen's "History of Rome," vol. iv. pp. 575, 6.

³ The Septuagint, from the seventy-two translators, six for each tribe.

From the time of St. Mark, said to have been the first bishop, to the middle of the second century when the school emerged into celebrity under Pantænus, Christianity was active there. And it was only to be expected, that as the philosophy of the period had in Gnosticism already simulated to some extent the form of Christianity, so it would now pursue a second course of action, and would in the next place endeavour to modify the Faith from within the Church.

Such is the probable account of the rise of Origenism; and though Origen was no Arian, yet a later offshoot of the same great stock was found in Arianism. And no one can wonder if a line of inferior texts can be traced—with a class of readings which were afterwards thrown aside in the Church—from Origen onwards till the time of the close of the Arian heresy. Debased doctrine, and readings of Holy Scripture afterwards to be rejected, would naturally go hand in hand.

The employment of corrupt manuscripts has been detected in the writings of Clement of Alexandria, the immediate predecessor of Origen in the Catechetical School, by Dean Burgon. The Dean has produced Clement's quotation of fifteen verses (Mark x. 17-31), and discovers in the 297 words of them 112 variations from the Received Text, or a discordance reaching to 38 per cent.¹ Origen must have used several copies and of various kinds.² Indeed, it is very questionable whether he did not execute an edition, or

¹ The same passage differs from Westcott and Hort's Text in 130 words, or 44 per cent. See Burgon, "The Revision Revised," pp. 326-8.

² Abp. Laurence. "Remarks on the Classification of MSS. adopted by Griesbach," chap. iii., iv., Appendix.

recension, of the works of the Evangelists and Apostles. It is certain that he did something like this upon the Old Testament, and there is a probability that at least to some extent he continued the same mode of treatment on to the New.¹ His authority was widely venerated and followed in later times.² He was a copious and precise commentator upon Holy Scripture. From numerous facts of history, he may be said to have founded a School.

Among those whom we know unfavourably at this period was Hesychius, probably an Egyptian bishop, who is said by St. Jerome to have introduced bad alterations into copies which went by his name. Another is Lucian, presbyter of Antioch, against whom the same charge is made.³ Again, Pamphilus, bishop of Cæsarea, the great friend of Eusebius, from whom the latter took his second name (Eusebius Pamphili) and who set up the famous library at Cæsarea, copied out the works of Origen, and kept them there. He was

¹ Origen, on Matt. xix. 19. He speaks of the disagreement of the copies, *ὡς πάντα τὰ κατὰ Ματθαῖον μὴ συμφέειν ἀλλήλοις, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὰ λοιπὰ Εὐαγγέλια*. He adds that he has corrected in the Old Testament from other copies, keeping to their consentient testimony, and has put asterisks where the Hebrew did not give the expression, not liking to expunge entirely, and leaving others to adopt his reading or not, as they thought fit.

² Burgon, "Last Twelve Verses," p. 97; "The Revision Revised," p. 292. Cook, "The Revised Version," pp. 155-7. "Letter to Bp. of London."

³ "Præfatio ad Damasum." See also Jerome, "Catalogus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum," p. 77. Cook, "Revised Version," p. 152, note. St. Jerome tells us that three editions of the Old Testament existed, viz., one of the Septuagint by Hesychius, which was followed in Egypt; another by Lucian, which was used from Antioch to Constantinople; and the third in Palestine, derived from Origen, and published by Pamphilus and Eusebius. "Præfatio in Librum Paralipomenon." Bingham, xiv. 3, 17.

said by his disciple and friend 'to have surpassed all of Eusebius' contemporaries in disinterested study of the Holy Scriptures, and in untiring and loving toil in anything that he undertook.'¹ Records of his labours undergone in conjunction with Eusebius still remain.² Pierius, a disciple of Origen, is also known as a diligent student of Holy Scripture,³ and to have had, as well as Origen, copies that were called by his name.⁴ He was the teacher of Pamphilus, Head of the School in Alexandria, and not wholly orthodox.⁵

So we are brought from Origen to Eusebius. And indeed, the veneration and affection entertained by the latter for the great teacher has been expressed by him frequently in his history. Cæsarea was the adopted home of the latter days of Origen. He must have spent most of his last twenty years in that city. It was his refuge after troubles in Alexandria: there he was at length ordained. His spirit must have lived on amongst his admirers: and in Eusebius of Cæsarea we see a virtual successor to his main opinions and tenets.⁶

¹ Euseb., "H. E." "De Martyr. Palæst.," p. 11. Scrivener, "Plain Introduction," pp. 512, 3.

² "Codex Friderico-Augustanus," subscription to Book of Ezra and Esther.

³ Euseb., "H. E.," vii., 32.

⁴ Jerome on Matt. xxiv. 36; Gal. iii. 1. See Scrivener, "Plain Introduction," p. 516.

⁵ Euseb., "H. E.," vii. 32. Routh, "Reliquiæ Sacræ," iii., pp. 211-12, 265 (1814).

⁶ Jerome, "Contra Rufinum," vol. i., § 8. Cook, "Revised Version," p. 168. Eusebius must have been a great student of Holy Scripture. It is to him that we owe the 'Eusebian Canons,' and as is probable also the so-called 'Ammonian Sections.' Fault being found with Tatian's "Diatessaron," because he omitted parts of the Gospels, Ammonius tried to construct a Harmony by arranging the other Gospels in parallel columns with the First, and cut them up into sections in order to bring them into parallelism with St. Matthew. The particulars of his

But during the lifetime of these men a catastrophe occurred which must have affected very greatly the transmission of the Holy Scriptures. The persecution of Diocletian and Galerius, notwithstanding the care taken and the firmness shewn even unto death, must have caused the destruction of a large number of manuscripts. Hesychius, Lucian, and Pamphilus suffered martyrdom. And after the storm passed over, there must have been a serious lack of copies of the Holy Scriptures for use in the Church, especially where the large increase of converts added to the number of congregations, and caused the building of fresh churches.

Towards the end of this long period of history, and whilst Constantine was in the midst of his Semiarian stage, he gave the celebrated order to Eusebius, probably between A.D. 330 and 340,¹ to send him fifty magnificent copies of the Holy Scriptures. They were to be written on the best vellum by skilful and accomplished penmen, and in a form

Sections seem to have perished: but Eusebius tells us (Epist. ad Cyprianum, init.) that he himself took the hint from Ammonius, and so constructed his ten Canons, and as it appears the Ammonian Sections. He cut up the Gospels into these Sections, St. Matthew containing 355, St. Mark 233 (or more), St. Luke 342, St. John 232. The Gospels ran continuously throughout, but the Sections marked in the margin afforded a power of reference, and the Canons or Tables supplied an Index according to which the parallel Sections could be brought together. The first Canon gives 71 places in which all four Evangelists combine: the next three, where three agree, (2) Matt., Mark, Luke; (3) Matt., Luke, John; (4) Matt., Mark, John: the next five, where two coalesce; and the last supplies 251 places peculiar to some one or other of the Evangelists. A reference to the Canon was given in the margin under the number of the Section, thus: 141. See Burgon, "Last Twelve Verses," pp. 125-132, 295-312. Scrivener, pp. 56-62.

¹ Cook, "Revised Version," p. 160.

well fitted for use. Orders were at the same time issued to the Governor of the province to supply the materials for the work, which was to be accomplished with all possible speed. Two carriages were placed at the disposal of Eusebius for conveying the copies to Constantinople, and he sent them off soon under the charge of a deacon.¹

Now there are various reasons for supposing that B and \aleph were amongst these fifty manuscripts. They are referred by the best judges to about the period of Constantine's letter, to speak generally. In Tischendorf's opinion, which is confirmed by Dr. Scrivener,² the scribe of B wrote six 'conjugate leaves' of \aleph . These manuscripts are unrivalled for the beauty of their vellum and for their other grandeur, and are just what we should expect to find amongst such as would be supplied in obedience to an imperial command, and executed with the aid of imperial resources. They are also, as has been already stated, sister manuscripts, as may be inferred from their general resemblance in readings. They abound in omissions, and show marks of such carelessness as would attend an order carried out with more

¹ Eusebius sent them, *τρισσὰ καὶ τετρασσὰ*. "Vit. Const.," iv. 37. There are three interpretations of these words: (1) 'in triple or quadruple sheets,' in that case it would have been probably *τρίπλοα καὶ τετράπλοα*: (2) 'written in three or four vertical columns respectively' (Canon Cook), which would exactly describe \aleph and B, only a preposition would be wanted to turn the adjectival into an adverbial expression: (3) combined with *πεντήκοιτα σωματῖα ἐν διφθέραις ἐγκατασκευαίς* (c. 36), 'we sent abroad the collections [of writings] in richly adorned cases, three or four in a case' (Archdeacon Palmer, quoted by Dr. Scrivener). After examining the letters, I am convinced that my friend Archdeacon Palmer is right. See Cook, "Revised Version," p. 162, 3; Scrivener, p. 513, note.

² Scrivener, "Plain Introduction," p. 92. "Christian Remembrancer," October, 1867.

than ordinary expedition. And even the corrector,¹ who always followed the copyist, did his work with similar carelessness to the scribe whom he was following.² Besides which, it is expressly stated in \aleph that it was collated with a very old manuscript corrected by Pamphilus after the Hexapla of Origen.³ And Cæsarea was the place where manuscripts of Pamphilus and Origen would be found.

There is therefore very considerable foundation for the opinion entertained by many that these two celebrated manuscripts owe their execution to the order of Constantine, and show throughout the effects of the care of Eusebius, and the influence of Origen, whose works formed the staple of the Library of Pamphilus, in the city where they were most likely written.⁴

Such was probably the parentage, and such the production of these two celebrated manuscripts, which are the main exponents of a form of Text differing from that which has come down to us from the Era of Chrysostom, and has since that time till very recent years been recognized as mainly supreme in the Church. And the question arises, which of the two was the generally accredited Text in the period which has just passed under review.

1. Now it must first be remembered that the traces of corruption were very widely spread in the first ages of the Church. It was impossible but that oral transmission from one to another, inaccuracy and unskilfulness in writing, de-

¹ διορθώτης.

² Tischendorf, "Novum Testamentum Vaticanum," Prolegomena, xxiv. Cook, "Revised Version," p. 174.

³ Subscriptions to Ezra and Esther. It is true that these are in a hand of the seventh century. Scrivener, "Plain Introd.," p. 53, note.

⁴ Dean Burgon however does not agree with this conclusion, but places \aleph at least half a century after B. "Last Twelve Verses," pp. 293, 4.

fective apprehension of the Faith, and unbelief in various phases and degrees, must have given rise to a prolific progeny of error. Such indeed is the story that we hear in many quarters. But meanwhile, the amazing health and vigour of fresh Faithfulness in those early days found effect in the tree, that though hidden in part at first amidst the rank upgrowth of error shot out in course of time, and at length permanently overtopped the stunted plants that were doomed soon to decay.

2. Accordingly, in the next period we shall find the Traditional Text ere long indisputably in the ascendant. Now how could it have been thus supreme, if it had no true title? Unlawful usurpation must have been soon discovered. The fact that the supremacy was acknowledged and not gainsaid, lays a heavy burden of proof upon those who, fifteen centuries after, seek to question the right and deny the sway.

3. But there is remaining even now to us sufficient demonstration of the existence and use of the Traditional Text in the first ages. The witness borne by the early Fathers to controverted readings proves that they used Manuscripts belonging to the Traditional Class which were much older than any now in existence. Take, for example, fifteen passages which are at the present time under discussion, and the following Fathers are found to testify upon them to the Traditional readings:¹—Ignatius (1), Papias (1), Justin Martyr (5), Irenæus (6), Tertullian (7), Theophilus of

¹ The passages are, Matt. i. 18; i. 25; v. 22; v. 44; xvii. 21; Mark vi. 20; xvi. 9-20; Luke ii. 14; xxii. 43, 44; xxiii. 34; xxiii. 45; xxiv. 40; John iii. 13; v. 3, 4; Acts xx. 28; 1 Tim. iii. 16. The above are almost entirely Dean Burgon's quotations. It is hard to see how any such support can be adduced for the readings of B and κ .

Antioch (1), Hegesippus (1), Athenagoras (1), Vincentius (1), Marcion (1), Clement of Alexandria (3), Hippolytus (6), Acta Pilati (2), Origen (11), Dionysius of Alexandria (3), Apostolical Constitutions (6), Ps. Tatian (2), Cyprian (1), Macarius Magnes (2), Julius Africanus (1), Titus of Bostra (2), Archelaus with Manes (1), Ps. Justin (1), Clementine Homilies (1), Arius (1), Eusebius (9), Athanasius (8), Aphraates the Persian (4), Didymus (10), Epiphanius (11), Ephraem Syrus (6), Ps. Ephraem (1), Gregory Nazianzen (9), Gregory of Nyssa (26), Basil (8), Cyril of Jerusalem (2), Lucifer (2), and Leontius (1). That is to say, in 165 places as relating to only 15 chance passages in Holy Scripture Ecclesiastical Writers living before the Era of St. Chrysostom are proved to have followed Manuscripts thus witnessing to the Traditional Text. It should be borne in mind that it was only at the close of this period that \aleph and B, the two oldest manuscripts now existing, were produced.

4. In a similar manner, the Peshito and Italic Versions—including under the latter class the best of the Old Latin Versions¹—were made two hundred years before those two Manuscripts, and—especially the former—support the Traditional Text. Nor is occasional evidence subsequently wanting in the Egyptian Versions which, as has been seen, came out later in the same period.

There is therefore, as these specimens show, no warrant for asserting that the Traditional Text is not traceable back as far as the earliest age of the Church. The vestiges of it in Ante-Nicene times are of a character agreeing with its unquestionable ascendancy in the future.

¹ "August. De Doctr. Christ.," ii. § 15.

CHAPTER VII.

HISTORY OF THE TRADITIONAL TEXT FROM THE ERA OF
ST. CHRYSOSTOM TILL THE INVENTION OF PRINTING.

THE GREAT PATRISTIC ERA. IMPROVEMENT IN THE ART
OF TRANSCRIBING. ANCIENT LIBRARIES. PARALLEL
SUPPLIED BY THE LATE SETTLEMENT OF THE CANON.
AGE OF MANUSCRIPTS, VERSIONS, FATHERS, AND
LECTIONARIES. EVENTUAL SUPREMACY OF THE TRA-
DITIONAL TEXT.

THE period of history that we have just surveyed in
brief includes the early struggles of the Church.
Though there were Christians who had received in trans-
mission from the Apostles the Faith in its entirety and in its
varied life, and had learned to realize it, and were firm in
maintaining it, yet the Church had not yet come through-
out her length and breadth to understand and hold it in all
its proportion and detail. The work of the great men of the
time 'was to construct and not to define. And thus the
age was an age of research and thought, but at the same
time it was an age of freedom. The fabric of Christian
doctrine was not yet consolidated, though the elements
which had existed at first separately were already combined.
An era of speculation preceded an era of councils; for it
was necessary that all the treasures of the Church should be

regarded in their various aspects before they could be rightly
arranged.'¹

But the period that immediately succeeded was vastly dif-
ferent. The world of the time had entered at least in name
into the Catholic Church. And with the disposition to
half-faith which it carried along with it, and which was
severely felt for at least two quarters of a century, it brought
besides a sense of law and rule and order, as well as also a
greater width of observation, and a desire of definition and
system and of more uniformity in ritual and belief.

This period was perhaps the most remarkable of all in
the history of the Church. Religious questions were the
great questions of the day: the most eminent writers of the
time were churchmen: and the subjects of their writings
were those of the Catholic Faith. Their great object was to
ascertain and unfold the exact lineaments of that which was
once for all² delivered to the saints. The Creeds and the
Canons of great Councils remain as the grand monuments
of their united labour. And the works of Athanasius, Cyril
of Jerusalem, Hilary, Basil, the Gregories, Ambrose, Chry-
sostom, Augustine, Jerome, Cyril of Alexandria, Leo the
Great, and others, (if we may mention also some of those
who immediately preceded this era) are as beacon-fires still
shining to later ages, and telling of the greatness of the men
who kindled them.

Another point in a sister field throws light upon the settle-
ment of the Sacred Text which must have silently been
effected at this time by the rejection of alien variations.

¹ Westcott, "On the Canon of Holy Scripture," p. 406.

² St. Jude, p. 3. ἡ παξ. "August. Contra Donatist.," iv. 24. 'Quod
universa tenet Ecclesia nec conciliis institutum sed semper retentum est,
non nisi auctoritate Apostolica traditum rectissime creditur.'

Classical literature was in the condition which always ensues when a lengthened period of production is succeeded by a time of rest. The treasures of the past are then stored, studied, and regulated. The expressions of the old writers are noted, their style is analysed, and commentators flourish in congenial soil. It is a time of dictionaries and grammars. Accordingly at this time Hesychius—a different man from the Textual editor¹—wrote his celebrated lexicon: and the great Grammarians, Charisius, Diomedes, Donatus, and Priscian, pursued their researches and built up their system. And the stirring events of the world, under which literature was surrendered to the studious few, who as time went on worked more and more in retirement from the turmoil of life, caused this period to be long protracted, so that it was not till the eighth or ninth century that the system upon which they laboured reached the measure of perfection that it ultimately attained.

Thus with regard to punctuation. 'In the papyri of Hyperides, there are no stops at all, in the Herculeum rolls exceeding few: Codd. Sinaiticus and Vaticanus . . . have a single point here and there on a level with the letters, and occasionally a very small break.'² It was not till about the seventh century, that the single point alone was used at the head, middle, and foot of letters, to indicate a full-stop, half-stop, or comma respectively. Points were afterwards multiplical (::, ::) to express different powers. 'The Greek interrogation (;) first occurs in the ninth century, and (,) used as a stop a little later.'³ In the early manu-

¹ Cf. Dr. Schmidt, in Smith's "Dictionary of Biography," s. v.

² See Scrivener, "Plain Introduction," p. 46.

³ See Scrivener, "Plain Introduction," p. 47. "Globe Encyclopædia," s. v. Manuscripts.

scripts, there is also no separation of space between the words.

Again, Breathings do not occur in Greek Manuscripts of the Holy Scriptures till the end of the seventh century, nor indeed Accents. In the ninth century they are found, with slight exception, but not affixed with accuracy. In the seventh or eighth centuries breathings and accents were inserted in the older manuscripts, Yet they were said to have been originally invented, or more probably reduced to system, by Aristophanes, librarian at Alexandria about 240 B.C.¹

Besides this, the spelling in the early manuscripts shewed a great defect in the art of expressing sounds by letters, and a want of recognised system in the employment of adopted methods. We find both rough variations of consonants,² and confusion between the several vowels and diphthongs.³ The latter peculiarity is so common that it has earned for itself the special title of 'Itacism.' There is a tendency just at the present day amongst editors to substitute some of these ruder types of words for those which were previously received, and which are more in accordance with the orthography now accepted in Classical writings.⁴ But surely this is rather to roll back the wheels of progress.

So that it would appear that the Art of Writing manuscripts did not reach anything like maturity till about the eighth century. And this is, in truth, held to be the fact. It was perfected in the Monasteries. The first care of St. Benedict

¹ Scrivener, "Plain Introduction," p. 44.

² Thus οὐθέν for οὐδέν; σάρκινος for σαρκικός; Μαθηαῖον for Ματθαῖον.

³ Thus ἔγειρε or ἔγειραι; ἴδετε or εἶδετε; ἵνα καυθήσωμαι or καυθήσομαι. Scrivener, p. 11.

⁴ See "Prologomena" to Tischendorf, 8th edition by Dr. Caspar Renè Gregory, pp. 71-116. Also Scrivener, "Plain Introduction," pp. 10, 12, 14.

was that there should be a library in each newly formed monastery. At Monte Cassino there was a large library which was burnt by the Saracens in the ninth century. Bobbio was famous for its palimpsests. St. Gall was also widely known. The Irish Missionaries, such as Columba, Aidan, Boniface, Kilian, were great cultivators of the art, and indeed the Irish, like the Lombards and Anglo-Saxons, had a style of their own.¹ The beautiful manuscripts, now preserved as invaluable treasures, shew the pitch of perfection to which the art was brought in later times. Manuscripts formed the field of painting; and the schools of modern painters issued originally from the bodies of artistic transcribers.

But besides the learning, study, and ability spent by the Churchmen of the era succeeding the Arian struggle, the men of that time had special advantages which have not descended to our own age. Owing to the jealous and courageous care of the Church, a large number of manuscripts must have survived the persecution of Diocletian. These must have been copied, re-copied, and copied again and again, and indeed large libraries existed in various places.

The libraries of Alexandria were especially celebrated. In the time of Ptolemy Euergetes, the library in the Bruchium contained 490,000 volumes, and that at Serapeum 40,000. The Emperor Aurelian in 273 A.D. destroyed the Bruchium, and probably one of the libraries perished at that time. But though the Serapeum was afterwards pulled down by the command of Theodosius, the libraries in that city were enlarged and increased till the troubles in connection with the Saracens ensued, and they perished in A.D. 640.

¹ Westwood, "*Palæographia Sacra Pictoria*." Silvestre's "*Palæography*," ed. Sir F. Madden.

A library was formed at Constantinople by command of Constantine, and though small at first, it must have grown at length to a great size. Burnt in 477 under the Emperor Zeno, it was again restored. And as the imperial library, it enjoyed a high reputation in the middle ages till the capture of the city by the Turks.

The library of Pamphilus at Cæsarea is said to have been increased by Eusebius to 30,000 volumes. This library also fell a victim to the Saracens. In later times, Buda under Matthæus Corvinus is reported to have possessed 50,000 manuscripts, till the city sank into the hands of the Turks in 1527, when the library was destroyed.

It seems surely clear from these considerations that we of the present time are so inferior to the Churchmen of the age of St. Chrysostom and of the succeeding ages, both in the furniture of our 'apparatus criticus' and in the knowledge of early manuscripts, that it would be rash in the extreme to overrule the verdict which they passed. And this conclusion is surely strengthened almost to demonstration, when we take into consideration the overruling care of the Holy Ghost in the Church. For the Church does not act by Councils alone, or solely in Canons or Creeds, but expresses her decisions in the universal operations of her common life. When therefore we are told, and find the information to be true as we shall see, that the text used at Constantinople and by St. Chrysostom became 'the standard New Testament of the East,'¹ and that 'the fundamental text of late extant Greek MSS. generally is beyond all question identical with the dominant Antiochian or Græco-Syrian text of the second half of the fourth century,' we find ourselves face to face with a silent action of the Church in one of her

¹ Westcott and Hort, "Introduction," p. 143; vol. i., p. 550.

grandest periods, and we cannot but yield to her virtual decision.

'Slow experience and spiritual instinct decided the practical judgment of the Church. Step by step the books which were stamped with Apostolic authority were separated from the mass of other works which contained the traditions or opinions of less authoritative teachers. Without controversy and without effort "the Gospel and the Apostles" were recognised as inspired sources of truth in the same sense as "the Law and the Prophets." In both cases the judgment appeared as the natural manifestation of the life of the Christian body, and not as a logical consequence of definite principles.'

This striking description by Dr. Westcott of the settlement of the Canon of Holy Scripture is more than illustrative of the manner, in which the form of text, which now asserted itself victoriously and for ever, must have come to be generally acknowledged as supreme. The other species of readings went down before it. Practically and as far as recorded use goes, though the Codex Beza (D) was written later, the Western text vanishes. 'The most remarkable fact, standing out in striking contrast to the previous state of things, is the sudden collapse of the Western text after Eusebius.'² The Vatican and Sinaitic manuscripts had appeared, but writers are not found to have quoted them, and they have had in succeeding centuries so far as we know only a follower here and there, who again are left successively in rejection and solitude.

Indeed, so far does this conclusion carry us, that we are led to call in question the excessive value assigned by some

¹ Westcott, "On the Canon," p. 350.

² Westcott and Hort, "Introduction," p. 141.

Textualists to the mere antiquity of manuscripts. And taking into account the growth of the art of transcribing, and the lapse of time during the gradual expulsion of error from the text of the New Testament, we are driven to the conclusion, that the relative value of manuscripts is not determined by rude antiquity; but that a manuscript of the seventh or eighth century, or even of later production, may be superior to one of the fourth or fifth, especially if the earlier bear indications of suspicious parentage, or be produced under heretical associations. Such a manuscript though inferior to another in actual age, yet may deliver a testimony which is virtually much older: because it may witness to Traditional teachings which may be supported by evidence dating back to the earliest times. We can understand some German critics, who deeply learned as they are, have no sense of any Catholic authority¹ or of any guidance of the Church by the Holy Spirit, and who are haunted with the vision of a Church of the future constructed by pressing latent essence out of texts of Scripture and evolving hidden truths out of germs concealed within the secret consciousness of genius, which shall not have too much connection with the past, paying no attention to the silent condemnation of their theory passed by fifteen centuries. With them antiquity is valued according to its distance from now, and its nearness to the original autographs. But when the closest proximity attainable is a matter of nearer three than two centuries, and the Church of the time, with advantages with which those of the present day cannot be compared for a moment, has in

¹ Dr. Michelsen however, writing at Leyden, expressly rejects the extreme Textual theory because it controvenes the principle, *Quod semper, quod ubique, ab quod omnibus*. "Theologisch Tijdschrift," Jan., 1884.

tacit but consistent action pronounced upon the question, is it not difficult to see how those who acknowledge the influence of the Holy Ghost in the Church can follow such guidance, except from omission to observe the wide-spreading reach of this truth and its application to the problem before us? If such a judgment is universally accepted as valid in the case of the Canon, why has it not equal force in the determination of the Sacred Text?

The earliest fact of great importance in the history of this period was one of striking interest in the spread of the Church. In the fourth century the Goths, upon their advance from the wilds of the north to the fair south, were dwelling in Mœsia, and in one of their raids into the Roman empire carried off a Cappadocian family. Ulfilas was afterwards born amongst them, and Gothic became his native language. Brought up as a Christian, he and other Goths were forced to leave their native country by persecutions on account of their religion, and they went under the leadership of Ulfilas within the confines of the Roman Empire. He was afterwards consecrated bishop by Eusebius, and passed the first seven years of his episcopate amongst the Goths in succession to Theophilus their first bishop. The last thirty-three he spent within the borders of the Roman Empire, where he migrated again with a larger number of Goths.¹

Finding the need of the Holy Scriptures in his native tongue, he translated into Gothic the Septuagint Version of the Old Testament and the Greek of the New. He was an Arian, but his Version is nearer to the Traditional Text than to any other. Afterwards when the Goths were in

¹ Max Müller, "Lectures on the Science of Language," 4th edition, pp. 188-192.

Italy, it was corrupted to some extent from Latin sources.¹ Its date is about 360 A.D.

Towards the end of this century, or at the beginning of the fifth,² the great Codex Alexandrinus (A), now in the British Museum, was produced, afterwards the splendid gift of Cyril Lucas, Bishop of Alexandria, to Charles I. This great manuscript is admitted by Westcott and Hort to represent fairly the text used by the great writers of its time. It may be regarded as the oldest, and yet an independent, exponent of the Traditional Text as eventually received.³ The divergence between A on the one side and B and \aleph on the other, if we may regard those discordant witnesses as one, is greatest in the Gospels. In the Epistles there is much more agreement between them.

At some time in the fifth century the Codex Ephraemi (C), now at Paris, was executed. It is a palimpsest written over in the twelfth century with some of the works of St. Ephraem the Syrian, according to the custom introduced from very early times on account of the scarcity of vellum.⁴

¹ Scrivener, "Plain Introduction," p. 405.

² 'I venture to maintain that the limits on both sides may be A.D. 380 and A.D. 410, and that the earlier date is more nearly correct.'—Cook, "Revised Version," p. 185. The whole chapter should be considered. Dr. Scrivener is inclined to refer A to the beginning, or else the middle of the fifth century—'certainly not much later than the end of the fourth century.'—"Plain Introduction," p. 97. Cf. Hort, "Introduction," p. 75, 'referred by the best judges to the fifth century.'

³ 'The serious deflections of A from the "Textus Receptus," amount in all to only 842 (in 111 pages): whereas in C they amount to 1798: in B. to 2370: in \aleph , to 3392: in D, to 4697.'—Burgon, "Revision Revised," p. 14. My own figures—over a smaller area—are similar.

⁴ Palimpsests were used in the days of Cicero and Catullus. Cicero, "Fam." vii. p. 18, 2; "Catullus," xxii. 5. Plutarch, "Moralia," ii. 504 D, 779 C.

The original letters were in Bentley's time so difficult to decipher, that Wetstein, to whom Bentley paid £50 to collate this manuscript, complained that it took him two hours to make out one page. The writing was renewed in 1834 by chemicals. This manuscript consists of fragments throughout the New Testament, amounting nearly to two-thirds of the whole. It lies as to character of text about midway between A and B, inclining somewhat to the latter.¹

Various indications, occurring as if by chance here and there amidst discussions, prove that the learned men of this period were quite alive to the variations of manuscripts, and exercised critical judgment in deciding between conflicting readings. Thus St. Basil at Cæsarea, misled by his authorities as to the correct reading at the opening of the Epistle to the Ephesians, refers to the oldest of his manuscripts.² Again, Victor of Antioch, in the earlier half of the fifth century, tells how not finding the last twelve verses of St. Mark's Gospel in several copies, he searched amongst accurate ones, where he found it, and that he especially discovered the passage in a Palestinian exemplar of St. Mark's Gospel.³ And Severus, at the end of the same century, describes how 'being at Constantinople he heard the passage about the piercing of our Lord's side, as supposed to be related by St. Matthew

¹ Scrivener, "Plain Introduction," p. 120. Dean Burgon, whilst preferring it to B and \aleph , suggests that it was used as a palimpsest because it was thought to be of slight value ("Revision Revised," p. 325). It is hard to conceive such an use being made of it, if it had been rated high. It was also corrected at different times by three revisers,—another proof of want of confidence in it.

² Burgon, "Last Twelve Verses," p. 93. "Basil," opp. i., p. 254 E, 255 A.

³ Burgon, "Last Twelve Verses," p. 64. Appendix E., p. 288, where the Scholion is given in full.

strenuously discussed: whereupon had been produced a splendid copy of St. Matthew's Gospel, traditionally said to have been found with the body of the Apostle Barnabas in the island of Cyprus in the time of the Emperor Zeno (A.D. 474-491); and preserved in the palace with superstitious reverence in consequence. It contained no record of the piercing of the Saviour's side.' It will be observed in these instances that nothing is said about any individual opinion as to what ought to be the reading, but that the question is treated as exclusively one of authority,—what in those days when many ancient copies existed was the verdict of the oldest and best manuscripts.²

It will be remarked that up to the end of the fifth century we have four large manuscripts. Of these \aleph alone supplies the entire New Testament. Of A the greater part of St. Matthew has perished, that is, as far as xxv. 6, about two chapters in St. John, and about eight in the Second Epistle to the Corinthians.³ B is perfect (except for omissions) down to Heb. ix. 14, not including the Pastoral Epistles, which were often placed after the Epistle to the Hebrews, that thus came near the middle of St. Paul's Epistles. C is full of large gaps, and, as has been already stated, contains not two-thirds of the whole. Besides these, five other frag-

¹ Burgon, "Last Twelve Verses," p. 315, who refers to Assemani, "Bibl. Orient.," ii., pp. 81, 82.

² See also Lee "On Inspiration," Appendix G, who quotes Julius Africanus, A.D. 220 (Routh, "Rel. Sacr.," ii., p. 226), Cassiodorus, A.D. 469, "De Institutione Divinarum Literarum," Pref. ii., 538, St. Augustine (besides as already quoted), "De Consensu Evangelistarum," ii., 14, iii. 7, adding that 'similar illustrations of the critical spirit with which the Fathers conducted their critical investigations might be multiplied to any extent.'

³ From John vi. 50 to viii. 52, and from 2 Cor. iv. 13 to xii. 6.

ments¹ are extant from the fourth and fifth centuries, of which Q is the largest, containing fragments of 235 verses from the two last Gospels.²

It should be remarked, that these are only the earliest according to actual discovery. It is quite within the bounds of possibility that research may bring even older manuscripts to light. The cases of \aleph and of the Codex Rossanensis (Σ), which was found at Rossano in Calabria in 1879 by Messrs. Oscar von Gebhart and Adolf Harnach, seem to point to some increase accruing to our transcriptional treasures.

It must also be remembered that some of the Versions are older than any existing manuscripts that have fallen into our hands. The Peshito probably dates³ from early in the second century: the old Latin Versions from nearly the same antiquity: the Memphitic and Thebaic from the end of the same century: the Bashmuri, another Egyptian Version, from the next: and the Curetonian Syriac, of which the date is uncertain, must have been made before the Traditional Text was generally received, and indeed as would appear probable, about the latter end of the third or the beginning of the fourth centuries.⁴ Next we come to the Gothic, a contemporary of B and \aleph , though a few years their junior. And the Vulgate meets us about A.D. 384 or 385.

In 382, Pope Damasus, in consequence of the variety of

¹ Viz., \aleph , T and T^s, which are parts of the same MS., I¹, I², and Q.

² Scrivener, "Plain Introduction," p. 138. See below, Chapter VIII.

³ See above, p. 74.

⁴ I hazard the suggestion that it was made under the influence of the copies of Lucian, with which St. Jerome finds so much fault. The Curetonian shows great traces of Western corruption.

readings and the extensive corruption that prevailed in the Old Latin copies, committed the revision of them to St. Jerome. That great scholar and theologian entered upon his work, which included the Old Testament as well as the New, with great care and prudence, being anxious to make as few alterations as possible. With his Latin copies he compared some ancient Greek exemplars. He soon finished the New Testament, but his translation of the Old was not completed till the beginning of the next century, and was not considered so successful as the former. By degrees his translation won its way, and continued till the time of the Council of Trent to be the recognised Version of the Western Church. In obedience to a decree of that Council, a Revision was made under Sixtus V., but was found so faulty, that only two years afterwards the Clementine Bible was issued under Clement VIII. (1592, A.D.), and has held its place to the present day.

Besides these Versions, the New Testament was translated into Armenian in the fifth century, soon after the Council of Ephesus in A.D. 431; into Georgian about the same time;¹ and also into Ethiopian at a date which is so uncertain that this Version has been assigned by Dillman to the fourth century, and by Gildemeister and other Orientalists to the sixth or seventh.²

In the sixth century the Cambridge Manuscript Codex Bezae (D) was produced. It contains the Gospels and the chief part of the Acts but with several omissions, and is one of those which are called 'bilingual' manuscripts, that is,

¹ Dr. Malan ("Select Readings," p. 18), shews this from the standard "History of Georgia," published at St. Petersburg in 1849, and other authorities.

² Scrivener, "Plain Introduction," p. 409.

containing both a Greek and a Latin version. It is supposed to represent the Western Text, and is extremely inaccurate and full of interpolations. It is said to have six hundred bold and extensive interpolations in the Acts alone.¹ Its place in St. Paul's Epistles is considered to be filled by the Codex Claromontanus, so called from having been found at Clermont (D. of St. Paul), but as far as the Greek version is concerned, much more correct than its sister.

To this time also is referred the Codex Rossanensis (Σ), which contains the whole of St. Matthew, and St. Mark down to xvi. 14, and is remarkable as the earliest MS. that gives the doxology for the Lord's Prayer in St. Matthew.² Also the Codex Laudianus (E of the Acts), now in the Bodleian library, and various fragments, amongst which are the palimpsest Z at Dublin, and others.

The seventh century does not appear to be rich in the production of extant copies, unless it be at the end. But in the eighth, ninth, and tenth they not only abound, but with the exception of L, Ξ of St. Luke, and Δ in St. Mark,³ witness to a now settled agreement in the Traditional Text. Perhaps the most noticeable amongst them is the Codex Basiliensis (E) now at Basle, which is usually referred to the eighth century, but is considered by Dean Burgon to belong to the seventh.⁴

In the tenth century, cursive writing came into vogue, and

¹ Scrivener, p. 126.

² But the Doxology has much earlier authority in the Peshito and Thebaic, not to mention the Curetonian, in the Liturgies, and in the Apostolic Constitutions, and the Teaching of the Apostles. See Malan, "Select Readings," p. 26. And below, Appendix v.

³ Westcott and Hort, "Introduction," p. 171.

⁴ Scrivener, "Plain Introduction," p. 127. Burgon, "Guardian" newspaper, Jan. 29, 1873. See below, Chapter VIII.

was used thenceforwards down to the time when copying gave way to printing. No less than 1997 cursive copies are now known to exist in all kinds, that is, inclusive of Gospels, Acts and Catholic Epistles, St. Paul, Apocalypse, and Lectionaries of the Gospels and of the Apostles.¹ With hardly any exception the Cursives witness to the Traditional Text. Only a few, such as 1, 33,² as well as 13, 69, 124, 346, and a very few others here and there, follow B and N. Thus it would appear that the text of those Uncials was advocated by a small minority, and that it was nevertheless condemned, not because it was not known, but on account of its faulty nature.

The question naturally arises, What is the value of the Cursive Manuscripts? They were produced so many centuries after the Apostles' time, that serious doubts have been entertained about their possessing any critical value at all.

Now a moderate application of the principle of Genealogy here comes into action. The Cursive Manuscripts were the representatives, not only of a long line of ancestors, but as must follow from the circumstances attending them, of a long line of respectable ancestors, whose character as revealed in their extant descendants proves them not to have degenerated—speaking generally of them in the mass—in any very considerable degree, unless it be in a few particulars. Their overwhelming number supplies a presumption, and indeed more than a presumption, that their ancestors were also numerous. And their general agreement amongst themselves proves that they express the settled conviction of the Church of their time, whilst their consonance with the mass of the

¹ Scrivener, "Plain Introduction," p. xxx.

² Only 1 and 33 are quoted by Westcott and Hort, "Introduction," p. 171.

Uncials that went before them demonstrates their unbroken unison with the ages that lately preceded them.

But to dream of arraying the Cursives as a body on the one side against the Uncials as an army on the other would be abhorrent to Textual Criticism, and such a notion could only be suggested or imputed by those who are innocent of the facts of the case as well as of the principles accepted by Textual Critics. The Cursive Manuscripts, be it never forgotten, follow the main body of the Uncials with a very remarkable unanimity. Always excepting some half-dozen—those just mentioned—they bear generally the same witness. As exponents of the Traditional Text, they acquiesce in the lead of the elder testimony which is supplied by Uncial Manuscripts, Versions, and Fathers, and add confirmation to what is otherwise attested. As well suppose that the rank and file of the English Army may be drawn up against the officers, as imagine a general conflict between the Cursives and the Uncials. It should be remembered, though too much stress must not be laid upon this truth, that in the age of the Cursives the Art of Transcribing reached its highest point of perfection.

It would not be right to leave this long period from the Era of St. Chrysostom, even in a short sketch like the present, without lingering for a moment upon a very important and peculiar class of Manuscripts. Of the Lectionaries the number discovered and catalogued has now mounted up to more than five hundred. These manuscripts date back at least as far as the eighth century, and represent a tradition much earlier than that.

Lectionaries have evidently a peculiar value because of their use in Public Worship, where they would be subjected necessarily to continual criticism. Faults would be corrected,

and a general accuracy ensured; though no doubt such errors as might happen to creep in would keep an obstinate hold when once in possession.

As to Versions, there are two in Syriac to be noticed since the beginning of the sixth century, and some of an unscientific order. That called the Jerusalem, of which only one manuscript exists, dates back certainly as far as the sixth and perhaps to the fifth century. A more important version was the Philoxenian, or Harklean. This was made by Polycarp, a Rural-Bishop (*χωρεπίσκοπος*), for Xenaïas or Philoxenus, Monophysite Bishop of Mabug, or Hierapolis, in A.D. 508. About a hundred years after (A.D. 616) it was revised by Thomas of Harkel. 'It is probably the most servile version of Scripture ever made.'¹ The other Versions are:—the Slavonic, of the ninth century; the Anglo-Saxon, from the eighth to the eleventh; a Frankish of the ninth; two Persic, of the Gospels only, and of uncertain date; and some Arabic translations of small critical value.

The witness of the Fathers in the early part of this period has been stated to be consentient, and to be consistently in favour of the Traditional Text. It has been calculated that there are about a hundred Fathers who wrote before the production of B, and about two hundred more till the end of the sixth century.

We have now reached the era when printing was applied to the New Testament, and when therefore the periods cease during which materials were manufactured for the subsequent use of Textual Criticism.

A few words in retrospect are here necessary.

The great feature in this period was the rise of the Traditional Text into a predominance which was scarcely dis-

¹ Scrivener, "Plain Introduction," p. 328.

puted. Corruption of a manifold kind had been infused in the earliest times into the Sacred Writings. When they were hardly emerging from the rude depravation to which they were subjected in many places, they experienced the influence of a School of Semi-sceptical philosophy within the Church, and a small Class of copies varying from the Text afterwards accepted was produced in the times, if not as it appears under the supervision, of a party that was not wholly orthodox. Then ensued an era when the Faith of the Church and the Holy Scriptures were subjected to long and anxious consideration. The main features of the Faith once delivered were defined in Creeds. No special enactments embodying formal definition were made upon the Canon or the Text of the Holy Scriptures. Nevertheless the number of genuine Books, and the true Form of Text, were settled quietly and yet decisively. Divergent tongues were scarcely heard afterwards except to be silenced. The 'still small Voice' was making Itself felt and acknowledged throughout the whole Body, without rising into loud tones of command, or causing laws to be written down in special or general legislation.

CHAPTER VIII.

MATERIALS OF CRITICISM.

I. MANUSCRIPTS (*a*) UNCIAL, (*b*) CURSIVE; II. LECTONARIES AND LITURGIES; III. VERSIONS; IV. ECCLESIASTICAL WRITERS.

THE research of modern times has collected, as has been already seen, a vast amount of varied evidence upon the Text of the New Testament. We may best arrange their evidence under four Heads, viz., Manuscripts Uncial and Cursive, Lectionaries and Liturgies, Versions, and the Quotations that are found in Ecclesiastical Writers.

I. (*a*) UNCIAL MANUSCRIPTS.

The New Testament was formerly divided into four parts, viz., Gospels, Acts and Catholic Epistles, Pauline Epistles, and the Apocalypse.

Uncial Manuscripts were originally made up of continuous writing in large letters without any space between the words or sentences. The most ancient letters were upright and square: afterwards they became narrow, or oblong, or leaning; and the writing gradually assumed a more elaborate and artistic form. The copies of the New Testament that have descended to us are not written upon the reed papyrus, or on wax tablets, or the bark of trees, or any such perish-

able substance, but generally on either vellum or the skins of very young calves, or else on parchment or the skins of sheep and goats. The Sinaitic is made up of the skins of antelopes.

The dates in the following Table (see pp. 108, 109) are taken from Dr. Scrivener's "Plain Introduction," with the exception of E, with respect to which I have followed Dean Burgon, who has carefully examined that manuscript.

Besides the Uncial Manuscripts which are mentioned in the Table, there are several smaller fragments, which with the others make up the following number in all :—

Gospels	61
Acts and Catholic Epistles	14
Pauline Epistles	22
Apocalypse	5

102

But in this calculation, as will be observed, inasmuch as the number of authorities in each class is given, those Manuscripts which include parts of more than one class are reckoned under each. Thus A and \aleph are reckoned in all four classes, B in three, and D in two. Subtracting these, viz., 7 repetitions in the Acts, 8 in St. Paul, and 4 in the Apocalypse, we have a general total of 83 Uncials.

(b) CURSIVE MANUSCRIPTS.

The vast amount of Manuscripts included in this important class,—important because of their number, of their general consentience in rendering, of the strong body of ancestors which they represent, of the perfection of the art

with which they were executed, and of the generally accepted conclusions of which they are the signs and tokens,—with the one weighty drawback of defect in antiquity—prevents any possibility of a list of them being given in a small work like the present. The most celebrated are the handful of dissentients that follow B and \aleph (see above, p. 101), which have been thereby lifted into a prominence beyond their real importance, and the following :—

- 13. Regius, collated by Professor W. H. Ferrar.
- 20. Regius, 188.
- 61. Codex Montfortianus (above, p. 9).
- 66. Codex Galei Londinensis.
- 69. Codex Leicestriensis.
- 71. Lambeth, 528.
- 113. Codex Harleianus, 1810, Brit. Mus.
- 124. Cæsar-Vindobon. Nessel. 188, Lambec. 31.
- 237—259. Collated by C. F. Matthæi.
- 507—517. Collated by Dr. Scrivener.
- 603. &c. &c. &c.

Dr. Scrivener and Dean Burgon have raised the number of known Cursives to—

Gospels	739
Acts and Catholic Epistles	261
Pauline Epistles	338
Apocalypse	122

1460.

It is improbable, that a list has been yet obtained of all the surviving treasures of this Class. Yet on the other hand, it is scarcely conceivable, that any future discoveries will affect their general testimony to the Traditional Text.

TABLE OF CHIEF UNCIAL MANUSCRIPTS.

CENT.	NAME.	PLACE.		GOSPELS.	ACTS AND CATHOLIC EPISTLES.	PAULINE EPISTLES.	APOCALYPSE.
IV.	Vaticanus Sinaiticus	Vatican. St. Petersburg	B N	All. All.	All. All.	As far as Heb. ix. 14. All.	All.
V.	Alexandrinus	Brit. Museum	A	From Matt. xxv. 6. Omit John vi. 50-viii. 52.	All.	Omit 2 Cor. iv. 13-xii. 6. About $\frac{1}{2}$.	All.
	Ephraemi	Paris	C	Fragments = about $\frac{1}{2}$ of whole.	About $\frac{1}{2}$ of whole.	About $\frac{1}{2}$.	About $\frac{1}{2}$.
	Guelpherbytanus B	Wolfenbüttel	Q	235 Verses of St. Luke and St. John.			
VI.	Rossanensis	Rossano	Z	As far as Mark xvi. 14.	All with hiatus.		
	Bezae	Cambridge	D ₁	All with hiatus . . .			
	Claremontanus	Paris					
	Cotelin, 202	Paris and St. Petersburg.					
	Guelpherbytanus A	Wolfenbüttel	P	486 verses of All Evangelists.			
	Dublinensis	Dublin	Z	290 verses of St. Matthew.			
	Nitriensis	Brit. Museum	R	516 verses of St. Luke.			
	Purpureus	Brit. Museum, Rome and Vienna	N	12 leaves and 33 at Fatmos.			
	Laudianus	Bodleian					
	Cotelin I. (Septuag. Octateuch)	Paris, &c.	F ₂	9 verses.	E ₂ Acts i. 1-xxvi. 29; xxviii. 26-end. 7 verses.	All except Rom. i. 1-7, 27-30. H ₂ 12 leaves.	
VII.	Basilienensis	Basle	E ₁	All, except Luke iii. 4-15; xxiv. 47-53.		10 verses.	

VIII.	Regius	Paris	L	All, except Matt. iv. 22-v. 14; xxviii. 17-20. Mark x. 16-30; xv. 2-20. John xxi. 15-25. All, except Matt. v. 44-vi. 12; ix. 18-x. 1; xxii. 14-xxiii. 35. John xxi. 12-25. After John vii. 39, in Cursives.				
	Mosquensis	Moscow	V					
	Barberini	Rome	Y					
	Zacynthius	Bible Society	Z					
	Vaticanus, 2066	Vatican						
IX.	Wolff B	Hamburg	H	Fragments.				
	Cyprius	Paris	K	All.				
	Augiensis	Cambridge	F ₁	Full of hiatus.				
	Boreli	Utrecht						
	Mutinsensis	Modena	r	All Luke, Mark except 105 verses, 531 of the rest.	H ₂	Acts, except 4 places.		
	Tischendorfianus IV.	Bodleian			K ₂	Cath. Ep. only.		
	Mosquensis, 98.	Moscow	Δ	All, except John xix. 17-35.	L ₂	From Acts viii. 10.		
	Saigallensis	St. Gall						
	Boernerianus	Dresden						
	Angelicus	Rome						
	Petropolitanus	St. Petersburg	Π	All, except Matt. iii. 12-iv. 18; xix. 12-xx. 3; John viii. 6-39.	P ₂	All, except 3 places.		
	Porphyrianus	St. Petersburg						
	Campanus	Paris	M	All.				
	Monacensis	Munich	X	With serious defects.				
X.	Nanianus I.	Venice	U	All.				
	Vaticanus, 354	Vatican	S	All.				
	Harleianus	Brit. Museum	G	Fragments.				

N is quoted thus:—N*, the original reading; N^a, the first corrector (17th cent. Tisch. VI. Scrivener); N^b, second c. (VI.); N^c (VII.), and eight others.
B:—B*, original reading; B² or B³ first and second Diorthota; B³ first corrector (X. or XI.).
C:—C*, or $\frac{1}{2}$ first corrector (VI.); C**, or 3, second (IX.); C***, or 4, third.
D:—corrected, first, by the original penman as Diorthota; afterwards by eight or nine others, some nearly equal with the Codex, some not very long ago.
D suppl. (IX.) filled up some omissions—Scrivener, Plain Int., Tischendorf, Prolegomena (C. R. Gregory).

II. LECTONARIES AND LITURGIES.

The value of this class of evidence, the full force of which was first advocated and explained by Dean Burgon in his 'Last Twelve Verses of St. Mark's Gospel,'¹ is very considerable and peculiar.

It is evident that what is constantly read under authority in public must have a far greater weight than the writings of any individual author. Such texts must have been continually exposed to general criticism. Whilst therefore it is quite possible that some of the MSS. that have descended to us may not have been subjected to such searching examination, and indeed that in the natural wear and tear of time the best accredited may have been most used and therefore have soonest perished, whilst those that were least in repute may have been preserved because of general neglect, Lectionaries and Liturgies emerge from the full light and the never-ceasing life of the Early Church. Add to this, that both these species of evidence date from the earliest times. The Lectionary-system of the 'Unchangeable East' has remained from very ancient antiquity, and can be traced back beyond B and \aleph to the times at least of Origen and even Clemens Alexandrinus at the end of the second century. The Manuscripts go back as far as the eighth century: but numerous indications in the works of Ecclesiastical writers carry the reference without doubt to the period just mentioned.²

This Lectionary-system was drawn upon the main lines of the practice that previously prevailed in the Synagogues of

¹ Pp. 191-211, 214-5, 217-24, 240, 313-5, 318.

² Burgon, "Last Twelve Verses," pp. 191-211.

the Jews. There were in their Services, as in ours, two Lessons, one from each of their great divisions of the Old Testament. St. Paul and St. Barnabas found at Antioch in Pisidia the ordinary custom in operation of reading both from the Law and the Prophets.¹ This habit was continued in the Liturgies by the selections then made both from the Epistles and Gospels, and in the daily Morning and Evening Prayers by the Lessons from the Old and New Testaments. Accordingly, Justin Martyr, writing about A.D. 150, records in his Apology that there were readings during Divine Service from the Apostles and the Prophets.² The new Lectionary-system was thus, as well as in other particulars,³ grounded upon the old. And thus Lectionaries, as well as Liturgies, constitute a most valuable source of true information and evidence.

Several errors may be traced to this influence. Thus the omission of the last twelve verses of St. Mark's Gospel in certain copies, of which B and \aleph are the only extant specimens, is probably due to the fact that those verses constituted by themselves a Lection, which exactly filling the last page of the Gospel (for St. Mark stood last according to the Western arrangement) dropped off perforce with the last leaf. A copyist, charged to transcribe a copy so mutilated, not unnaturally mistook the end ($\tau\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$) marking the close of the previous Lection for the end of the entire Gospel. Again, the two verses in St. Luke that describe the ministering Angel and the agony and bloody sweat⁴ were omitted in the ordinary reading of the rest of the passage on the Tues-

¹ Acts xiii. 15.

² "Apol.," i. p. 67. Burgon, "Last Twelve Verses," p. 193 note.

³ E. g., both began in September. Burgon, p. 193.

⁴ Luke xxii. 43, 44.

day after Sexagesima, and were inserted after St. Matt. xxvi. 39 on Maundy Thursday. As marks were put in the Evangelistaria directing the omission, it was even obvious that some copyist would be sure to leave the two verses out altogether. So again, the fourteenth chapter of St. John is made to commence with the words, 'And Jesus said unto his disciples,' as any one may see by referring to the Gospels in our Prayer-Book for St. Philip and St. James' day.¹ Similar introductions and insertions were not uncommon, and have crept into the Uncial Manuscripts.²

Lectonaries were of two kinds :—

1. Evangelistaria, or Evangeliaria, consisting of Lessons from the Gospels. Of these 415 Manuscripts are known.

2. Praxapostoli or Apostoli, containing Lessons from the Acts and Epistles, and amounting to 128, as hitherto reckoned.

The value of the Quotations in Liturgies rests upon much the same foundation as the verdicts of the Lectionaries. They 'record the witness, not of individuals, but of Churches.' But the quotations are rare. Such however is the rendering of the 'Gloria in Excelsis' in the Liturgy of St. Clement and in that of St. James. Such again is the general witness in favour of the Doxology as a recognized termination of the Lord's Prayer.

The Liturgies reach at least as far back as the 4th or 5th Centuries.³

¹ Compare the Gospels for the second, third, and fourth Sundays after Easter.

² See Burgon's "Last Twelve Verses," chapter xi., for numerous instances of this kind.

³ Daniel, "Codex Liturgicus," Tom. iv., Prolegom., pp. 28-31.

III. VERSIONS.

The chief Versions have been already noticed. The general dates of them all may be seen together in the following Table :—

CENT.	SYRIAC.	LATIN.	EGYPTIAN.	SINGLE VERSIONS.
II.	Peshito (1)	Old Latin (1) sc. a. African b. European	? Memphitic, or Bahiric (2) ? Thebaic, or Sahidic (2)
III.	? Memphitic and Thebaic Bashmuric, or Elearchian (3)
IV.	? Curetonian (3)	Vulgate (2)	Gothic (2)
V.	Jerusalem (3) Karkaphensian (3)			Armenian (2) Georgian (3) Ethiopian (2)?
VI.	Philoxenian (3) A.D. 508.			
VII.	Harclean (3) A.D. 616.			
		Clementine Revision A.D. 1592.		Slavonic (3) IXth. Anglo-Saxon (4) VIIIth- XIth. Frankish (4) IXth. Persic (4) IXth. Arabic (several) VIIIth, &c.

The figures here attached to the names of the several Versions denote their relative scale of excellence in a critical light according as Dr. Scrivener has classed them. Some of the Arabic, and one Persic Version, may be ranked in the third class. But the other Persic (and perhaps one Arabic) version being derived from the Peshito Syriac, and the Anglo-Saxon or old English from the Latin Vulgate, can be applied only to the correction of their respective primary translations.¹

The value of this kind of evidence is patent upon an inspection of the Table above. Versions present the most ancient form of continuous text. Some of them are of much earlier date than the oldest Uncials. But to this lofty position some drawbacks are attached.

1. The exact reading of a Version may perhaps be very difficult to ascertain. Questions as to the true form of the text may come into them as they do into the original Greek Text. Old Latin affords an instance before all others,² since it is rather a Group of Versions, African, European, and Italian,³ than a single Translation like the rest that can be

¹ "Plain Introduction," p. 309.

² "Old Latin Biblical Texts," i., by Professor Wordsworth, Introduction, p. xxx. The chief Texts for Jerome's Vulgate, which Professor, soon to be Bishop, Wordsworth is engaged in editing, are

Codex Amiatinus, about A.D. 541.	am.
next, „ Fuldensis VIth. . .	fuld. or fu.
perhaps, „ Forojuliensis VIth. . .	for.

³ Of these Professor Sanday considers the Italian to be a Revision of the European. See also, pp. 75, 76. Dr. Hort's classification is—

I. African, *c*, *k*, &c.

II. European, *a*, *c*, *ff*, *h*, *i*, &c.

III. Italian, *f*, *g*, &c.

"Introduction," pp. 78-84. Wordsworth, p. xxx.

But no certain conclusions have been reached on this point.

determined with more or less accuracy. Thirty-eight codices exist, out of which the highest in repute are:—

Cod.	Century.	Letter.
Cod. Vercellensis . . .	IV. . .	a.
„ Veronensis . . .	IV. or V. . .	b.
„ Colbertinus . . .	XI. . .	c.
„ Palatinus . . .	IV. or V. . .	e.
„ Brixianus . . .	VI. . .	f.
„ Corbeiensis (2) . . .	VIII. . .	ff I.
„ Sangermanensis (2) . . .	IX. . .	g I.
„ Claromontanus . . .	IV. or V. . .	h.
„ Vindobonensis . . .	V. or VI. . .	i.
„ Bobbiensis . . .	IV. or V. . .	k.
„ Mai's Speculum . . .	VI. or VII. . .	m.
„ Monacensis. . .	VI. . .	q.

This drawback is not so great in the case of the others, but subtracts from the value of all.

2. From the nature of Translations, which, to be good, must adhere to the idiomatic expression of the language into which they are made, it follows that great uncertainty must prevail as to the original Greek words. Versions, therefore, do not always render decisive evidence upon the question of a single Greek expression. On the other hand, the authority of a Version as to the authenticity of a clause, sentence, or longer passage, is unquestionable, and may be much higher than that of a single manuscript, since it has presumably a public character, varying however according to circumstances, and may have a much higher antiquity.

3. It is evident that only a master of the language can at first hand pronounce upon the Version.

IV. ECCLESIASTICAL WRITERS.

Ecclesiastical writers may be said to surpass even Versions in reaching back to early, or rather the earliest Antiquity. Their authority, especially in confirmation of what is attested by good evidence of other kinds, is often of the highest importance. Their variety and number, as representing various parts and epochs of the Church, add greatly to their weight. And the positions, opportunities, and abilities of very many amongst them render their witness nearly always entitled to respectful attention. But some points subtract from their authority in this province.

Their testimony is seldom continuous, but fragmentary, and sometimes not to be had when we most need it. They often quote loosely as if from memory. Sometimes they cite from the copy that they happen to have at the moment, and so the same passage is found in different forms at different places in their writings.

But for all this, they furnish a most valuable kind of evidence. It is not necessary to attribute to them severally any critical acumen, though there is reason for inferring that more of this was to be found in earlier times than many people suppose. Their chief value is as witnesses to facts. Their evidence may be described as that of Manuscripts at second hand, of which the greater part are either older than, or about as old as, the oldest Manuscripts in existence. They often confirm readings by witnessing to the copies used by them with (so far) unquestionable accuracy. Indeed, this has been the most neglected and undervalued help to criticism, and nevertheless promises to be one of the most important. Unfortunately, their works want to be

edited with this view and indexed, before all the treasures that lie hid at present are ready to the hand of Textual Critics. When that is done, supplies will have been provided for a fresh and real advance.

Such is the vast field that must thoroughly be explored before a Revision of the Greek Text can be satisfactorily accomplished. Trust must not be reposed in one class of evidence alone. Even Manuscripts of the Greek Testament, superior as they are in most respects to all the other classes, can by no means support a claim to the highest antiquity. Single Manuscripts are actually surpassed in this respect by Versions¹ and Fathers, and virtually also by Lectionaries and Liturgies.

¹ It should be observed, with reference to the age of the Peshito, that MSS. of it exist as far back as to A.D. 411, the date of Cod. Add. 12150, which is nearly also the date of A. See "An Account of a Syriac Biblical MS.," &c., No. viii. in the Oxford "Studia Biblica," by the Rev. G. H. Gwilliam, who has courteously sent me a copy.

CHAPTER IX.

PRINCIPLES OF CRITICISM.

(1) THE TRADITIONAL TEXT, (2) EXTERNAL EVIDENCE, (3) THE SEVEN CANONS OF INTERNAL EVIDENCE. CONCLUSION.

AS the chief parts of the province of the Textual Criticism of the New Testament have now been reviewed, we are in a position to arrive at definite conclusions with respect to the principles that ought to guide us in the revision of the Sacred Text.

And first, there can be no sort of question that it would be culpably wrong to throw aside any portions of the existing evidence. Besides the illogical nature of a process that would take no note of materials that must have weight in constructing the premises and determining the conclusion:—to go no further than the formidable project of extirpating the vast mass of multiform proof both known and increasing of a Text other than the one which it is sought in some quarters to establish, and a very questionable attempt to get rid of inconvenient testimony:—the Church is answerable before Almighty God for making due use, and for the preservation from generation to generation, of the materials collected for the maintenance of His Inspired Word. If it be replied that it is not possible for any one age to deal with so large an amount of matter, the answer is ready that it is our duty in such a case, where we are dealing, not with human circum-

stances but with the things of God, to reverse the poets' maxim, and to say

Non mihi res, sed me rebus subjungere conor.

We cannot carve for ourselves the witness of the Sacred Word, but we must conform our dealings to what we find existing. Far better is it to linger in wise and reverent caution, than perhaps to rush in where angels might fear to enter, and to pull down with hasty profanity instead of strengthening the pillars of the Temple. The Great Giver of the Inspired Word is also the Preserver of it in the witness and keeping of Holy Writ. He has spoken during all the ages, though in the still gentle Voice that He is pleased to use, yet by definite and manifest signs and tokens. We must gather these together as far as we are able, and whilst we shrink from refusing to hear their testimony, and from prejudicing or forcing their decision, we must dutifully and practically collect their verdict.

1. It will therefore follow that the first object of a Textual Critic should be to discover what is in deed and in fact THE TRADITIONAL TEXT. How far does the Received Text accord with it? For with the Text as now 'Received' operations must be begun. The burden of proof lies with alterations. Then, in what particulars has human infirmity vitiated in any one age, period, or epoch, that pure Text which may become clear to the view upon a comparison of all the ages? In the assemblage of the entire body the errors of any individual may be made manifest. General Councils used to correct the mistakes of single bishops.¹ The Holy Ghost does not eliminate all weakness, but He

¹ See especially, "Concilium Hispalense (A. D. 619), Mansi," x. p. 558. Canon VI.

guides the awards of the whole Church. Any Father, or Version, or even Lectionary, or copy, however ancient, however likely on all grounds to have escaped blundering, may yet have gone astray. But in the union of them all, and in testimony varied, multiplied, and mainly consentient, there is not only the proverbial strength, but there is also the promised Presence, that descended after the Lord left the earth, and is immanent in the Church onwards to the end.

II. Hence secondly, all Testimony should be mustered, and due importance assigned to every item in it. The more variety of converging evidence there is found, the more perfectly that all provinces in the Church, and all periods—especially the oldest of them—concur in attestation, so much the greater is the weight. The sources of decision will be discovered in the classes described in the last chapter. There is never (speaking practically) a lack of sufficient evidence: and the conclusions will follow which, whether from intrinsic importance, or from variety, or from number, are found after wise, enlightened, and discriminating examination to be in the ascendant.

III. Internal evidence of either kind is a long way inferior to external proof, on which the authenticity of passages will be established, but it is useful in its place. Such are the Seven Canons, viz. ;

1. The harder the reading, the less likely is it to have been invented, and the more likely to be genuine. 'Proclivi lectioni præstat ardua' (Bengel). Thus *δευτεροπρώτῳ*, 'second first,' in St. Luke vi. 1, could hardly have been coined.

2. The more concise reading is better than the more diffuse. 'Brevior lectio præferenda est verbosiori' (Griesbach). So St. Luke xii. 56, 'Ye hypocrites, ye know how to interpret

the face of the earth and the heaven: but how is it that ye know not how to interpret this time?'¹ The second 'ye know not how to interpret' (*οὐκ οἶδατε δοκιμάζειν*) spoils the simplicity of the text.

3. That reading is preferable, which will explain the origin of the variation (Tischendorf). Thus Melita (*Μελιτή*) for Melitene (Acts xxviii. 1), as has been before explained.²

4. The reading which is characteristic of the author is the more probable. Great caution should be exercised in applying this canon, as such varying estimates are formed of authors' styles. But it affords strong confirmation of the authenticity of the celebrated section of the adulteress ('Pericope adulteræ') since the style of the passage (John vii. 53, viii. 11) is just that of St. John.

5. The special genius and usage of each authority must be taken into account in estimating the weight that it ought to bear. Accordingly we must always suspect the omissions of B, the carelessness of N, and the interpolations of D.

6. 'Apparent probabilities of erroneous transcription, permutation of letters, italicism and so forth,' will naturally be taken into account. So *ἐτέροις* (Matt. xi. 16) is evidently for *ἐταίροις*: and the readings 'Titius' or 'Titus Justus' have plainly arisen from a reiteration of letters.³

7. Whatever makes nonsense, or injures the meaning or construction, is probably not the true reading.⁴ For example,

¹ "Revised Version." Contrast the neatness of the Authorized.

² Above, p. 28, note 3.

³ Above, p. 29, note 1.

⁴ The seventh usually given is Griesbach's, viz., that suspicion must ever rest upon such readings as make especially for orthodoxy. Archbishop Magee and Dr. Scrivener have fully disproved the soundness of this imputation cast by sceptics upon the orthodox. "Plain Introduction," pp. 497-9. See above, p. 69, and note 2. The canon which I have

'the last' (ὁ ἔσχατος) in St. Matt. xxi. 31, the reading of D, making the son who went not to be the obedient son, cannot have been the true production of the Evangelist.

But all these considerations must be wisely dealt with, and kept in their place. Exaggeration in the estimate of any one of them may lead to false deduction, and authority, as declared in external evidence, must mainly decide all questions.

The true Guide in all is God the Holy Ghost, Who, reverently sought in purity of heart, humility of soul, and wisdom of mind, will in His Own due time and after His Own perfect counsels lead the Church and Her children to ascertain with sureness, from clear and decisive evidence, the real Form and Outline of that Sacred Word Which He Himself taught His servants by His Holy Inspiration to deliver.

May He so receive and direct all our study of His Divine Sayings through the Lord JESUS CHRIST!

placed in the text surely carries its own recommendation. Whatever human element is found in the Inspired Word of God (see Lee on "Inspiration"), nonsense or solecism have no place there. It would be well if more weight were always attributed in Sacred Textual Criticism to sound sense. The best critics employ it with manly strength. For instances, see above, pp. 27-29, and p. 57, note 1.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

AN examination of a few important passages is here appended, which may serve to illustrate the controversy now existing, and to exhibit in their operation the principles already explained.

The evidence adduced is mainly derived from the eighth edition of Tischendorf's "Novum Testamentum Græce," Dr. Scrivener's "Plain Introduction," Dean Burgon's "The Revision Revised" and "The Last Twelve Verses of St. Mark," Canon Cook's "Revised Version of the First Three Gospels," and Drs. Westcott and Hort's "The New Testament in Greek."

I. THE LAST TWELVE VERSES OF ST. MARK'S GOSPEL.

A. Against their authenticity, as alleged :—

1. \aleph B. L inserts a short and manifestly spurious conclusion before the Twelve Verses.
2. No Cursives. A few follow L.
3. One Old Latin MS. (k), two Armenian MSS; two Æthiopic, and an Arabic Lectionary.
4. Eusebius, Jerome, and Severus of Antioch, are also quoted. These verses are said to be omitted in the Ammonian Sections.
5. (a) About twenty-one words and phrases, not found in the rest of St. Mark, are said to occur in these verses, as *πορεύομαι, τοῖς μετ' αὐτοῦ γενομένοις, δεδομαι, μετὰ ταῦτα.*
(b). The description of Mary Magdalene, *ἀφ' ἧς ἐκβεβήκει ἐπὶ δαίμόνια*, is said to be a sign of the introduction of a

new passage not containing what had gone before, where she has been recently mentioned.

(c). The note of time *πρὸς πρῶτη σαββάτου* is thought to be needless, and out of place.

B. For :—

1. All other Uncials, *i.e.* ACDEFGHKMSUVXTΔΠΞ :—also L.

2. All Cursives.

3. (a) Peshito, Harclean, Jerusalem, and Curetonian Syriac.

(b) All Old Latin except k, and Vulgate.

(c) Memphitic, and Thebaic.

(d) Gothic, Æthiopic (except two MSS.), Georgian, Armenian (except two MSS.), Arabic.

4. All Lectionaries. This passage was read everywhere during the Season of Easter and on Ascension Day.

5. Fathers :—

Cent. II. Papias, Irenæus, Justin Martyr, Tertullian.

„ III. Hippolytus, Vincentius at 7th Council of Carthage, Acta Pilati.

„ IV. Syriac Table of Canons, Eusebius, Macarius Magnes, Aphraates, Didymus, Syriac Acts of the Apostles, Epiphanius, Leontius, Pseudo-Ephraem, Ambrose, Chrysostom, Jerome, Augustine.

„ V. Leo, Nestorius, Cyril of Alexandria, Victor of Antioch, Patricius, Marius Mercator.

„ VI. and VIII. Hesychius, Gregentius, Prosper, John (Abp. of Thessalonica), Modestus (Bp. of Jerusalem).

REMARKS.

B leaves a whole blank column—‘the only blank one in the whole volume’—*i.e.*, of the New Testament, as well as the rest of the one containing v. 8, thus showing that a passage was left out. Either *κ* was here simply copied from B, a supposition probable on other grounds, and confirmed by Tischendorf’s and Scrivener’s opinion that the Scribe of B wrote this part of *κ*, in

which case we have merely B over again, but without its mute confession of error ; or they both followed here the common archetype from which they were confessedly derived. Eusebius elsewhere witnesses for the verses, and here only mentions loosely that some copies omit them. Jerome and Severus only copy Eusebius’ expressions.

The alleged internal evidence has been demonstrated to be visionary,—a mere mistake : and is accordingly no longer urged by the critics.

Besides all this, the cause of the omission by careless or incompetent scribes is evident. The error of B and *κ* was clearly derived from a copy of St. Mark, which had lost its last leaf. A mark stood here in the Western copies of the Gospel. It is further not improbable that some scribe mistook the ‘End’ of the Lction, *Τέλος*, for the End of the Gospel, and a few others followed him. The error was ere long discovered.

This evidence plainly leaves no sort of doubt. No Court of Law could decide against the verses. It is difficult to see how it can be otherwise than discreditable to Textual Science, that the question should be held in some quarters to lie still open.

II. THE FIRST WORD FROM THE CROSS.

(St. Luke xxiii. 34.)

A. Against their authenticity :—

1. *κ*^a (first corrector), B, D^{*} (first reading).

2. 38, 82, 435.

3. Two or three MSS. of Italic (a, b, d?), Thebaic, two MSS. of Memphitic.

4. Arethas.

B. For :—

1. *κ*^{*} and *c* (first reading and third corrector), ACD ^{gr. 2} (second corrector), FGHKLMQSUVΓΔΔΠ. E puts an *** ; —these are all the other Uncials.

2. All other Cursives.

3. All other Versions, including the Syrian, and the other Italic and Memphitic MSS.

4. Ecclesiastical Writers :—

Cent. II. Hegesippus, Irenæus.

„ III. Hippolytus, Origen, Apostolic Constitutions, Clementine Homilies, ps.-Tatian, Archelaus' disputation with Manes.

„ IV. Eusebius, Athanasius, Gregory of Nyssa, Theodorus of Heraclea, Basil, Chrysostom, Ephraem Syrus, ps.-Ephraem, ps.-Dionysius Areopagita, Acta Pilati, Syriac Acts of the Apostles, Ps.-Ignatius, ps.-Justin.

„ V. Theodoret, Cyril, Eutherius.

„ VI. Anastasius Sinaita, Hesychius.

„ VII. Antiochus Monachus, Maximus, Andreas Creticus.

„ VIII. John Damascene, ps.-Chrysostom, ps.-Amphilochius, Opus Imperfectum.

Besides Latin Writers, such as Ambrose, Hilary, Jerome, Augustine, &c., &c.

6. This would be a most unlikely interpolation in all ways. The internal evidence is also admitted (Hort, 68) to make eminently for the genuineness of the passage.

Evidence is clearly not evidence, if any doubts about the authenticity of this passage remain. The errors of a few scribes, in the face of the notorious depravation of the Sacred Text in early times, are no foundation for doubt.

III. THE RECORD OF THE STRENGTHENING ANGEL, THE AGONY, AND THE BLOODY SWEAT.

(St. Luke xxii. 43, 44.)

A. Against :—

1. ABRT. In Γ the verses are obelized, and they are marked with asterisks in $\text{ESV}\Delta\Pi$.
2. None (see below). Obelized in five, and asterisks in five. A scholion in 34 says that the verses are omitted in some copies.

3. Most Memphitic codices, some Thebaic, some Armenian, and f of Old Latin. Some Armenian insert v. 43.

4. Hilary and Jerome say that some Greek and Latin MSS. omit the passage. Athanasius and Cyril of Alexandria did not mention it when they might. John Damascene in one passage omits it.

For :—

1. \aleph^1 DFGHKLMQUXL. Also $\text{ESV}\Delta\Pi$ and Γ (see above).

2. All Cursives. But 13, 69, 124, 346, insert the verses after St. Matt. xxvi. 39, instead of in St. Luke. 13 inserts v. 43 in the right place.

3. Peshito, Curetonian, Harclean, Jerusalem, Ethiopic, some Thebaic, some Memphitic, some Armenian, all but one Old Latin, and the Vulgate.²

4. They are thus transferred in all Evangelistaria, the reason being that they were ordered to be read with the passage in St. Matthew on Maundy Thursday, and to be omitted on the Tuesday after Sexagesima.

5. Cent. II. Justin, Irenæus.

„ III. Hippolytus, Dionysius of Alexandria, ps. Tatian.

„ IV. Arius, Eusebius, Athanasius, Ephraem Syrus, Didymus, Gregory Nazianzen, Epiphanius, Chrysostom, ps. Dionysius Areopagita.

„ V. Julian the Heretic, Theodorus of Mopsuestia, Nestorius, Cyril of Alexandria, Paulus of Emesa, Gennadius, Theodoret, Oriental Bishops in Council, Ps. Cæsarius, Theodosius of Alexandria, John Damascene, Maximus, Theodorus the Heretic, Leontinus of Byzantium, Anastasius Sinaita, Photius; besides the Latins,—Hilary, Jerome, Augustine, Cassian, Paulinus, Facundus; —i.e. in all 'upwards of forty famous personages from every part of ancient Christendom.'³

¹ Scrivener, "Plain Introduction," p. 599, note.

² Malan, "Select Readings," p. 26.

³ Burgon, "Revision Revised," pp. 80, 81. These lists of the

6. The verses bear every trace of genuineness. Even Dr. Hort admits (p. 67) that 'it would be impossible to regard these verses as a product of the inventiveness of scribes.'

The omission by some scribes, and the obela and asterisks inserted by others—evidently as guides in reading—are satisfactorily explained by the Lectionary usage of omitting the verses in St. Luke, and reading them with the parallel passage in St. Matthew. Even A inserts the mark of the Ammonian Section, and thereby confesses the omission. In the face of so much evidence, it is impossible that any doubt at all should remain.

IV. THE ANGELIC HYMN.

ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκίας

for

ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκία.

(St. Luke ii. 14.)

A. For the alteration :—

1. $\aleph^* AB^* D$.
2. No Cursives.
3. Old Latin, Vulgate, and Gothic.
4. Irenæus (but see below), Origen (see however below), Hilary, and the Latin Fathers.
5. Mozarabic and Ambrosian Liturgies.

B. Against :—

1. $\aleph^c B^a EGHKLMPSUV\Gamma\Delta\Lambda\Xi$, *i.e.* all the rest.
2. All Cursives.
3. Peshito, Harclean, Jerusalem, Memphitic, Ethiopic, Georgian, Armenian, Slavonic, Arabic.¹
4. Cent. II. Irenæus.
- " III. Origen (3), Apostolic Constitutions (2).
- " IV. Eusebius (2), Aphraates (2), Titus of Bostra

Ancient Writers are extracted from the work of the learned Dean, who gives the references in every case.

¹ Malan, "Select Texts," p. 49.

(2), Didymus (3), Gregory Nazianzen, Cyril of Jerusalem, Epiphanius (2), Gregory of Nyssa (4), Ephraem Syrus, Philo of Carpasus, Chrysostom (9), an Antiochian.

Cent. V. Cyril of Alexandria (14), Theodoret (4), Theodotus of Ancyra (5), Proclus, Paulus of Emesa, Council of Ephesus, Basil of Selencia.

„ VI., VII., VIII.—13 testimonies.¹

5. The Liturgies of St. James and St. Clement, and the Morning Hymn attached to the Psalms in A.
6. The rhythm of the hymn would be destroyed, since it consists of three parallel and contrasted members, making up one stanza.

This evidence speaks for itself. The opposed reading is a Western one, which was just strong enough to make itself felt in the East, as the witness of A shows, but got no further. The only consistent MS. evidence for it is found in the Western D.

V. THE DOXOLOGY IN THE LORD'S PRAYER.

(St. Matt. vi. 13.)

A. Against the Passage :—

1. $\aleph BDZ$.
2. 1, 17, 118, 130, 209. Some scholia exist to the effect that these words are omitted in some copies.
3. Nearly all the Old Latin MSS., Vulgate, most Memphitic, Persian of Wheelocke.
4. Mozarabic, Ambrosian, and other Latin Liturgies.
5. The silence of the following Fathers :—
Tertullian (De Orat. 8).
Cyprian (De Orat. Dom. 27).
Origen (De Orat. 18).
Augustine (Epist. Class. iii. 12).
 (De Sermon. D. in Monte).
 (Serm. 56-59).
 (Enchiridion, 115, 116).

¹ Burgon, "Revision Revised," pp. 420, 1.

Cyril of Jerusalem (Cat. xxiii.) (Myst. 5, 18.)

Maximus (Expos. Orat. Dom.)

Gregory of Nyssa (De Orat. Dom., v. end) may be said to be doubtful.

6. It is held that the Doxology was probably introduced, as some writers confessedly quote it, from the Greek Liturgies, where too it was separated by the 'Embolismus,' or intercalated paraphrase on 'Deliver us from Evil,' from the last petition in the Lord's Prayer.

B. For :—

1. ΣΕΓΚΛΜΣΥΒΔΗ. [ACPR are deficient here].
2. All other Cursives, even 33, which usually sides with MB.
3. Peshito, Old Latin, (k, f, g¹, q), Thebaic, Curetonian, Harclean, Jerusalem, Ethiopic, Armenian, Gothic, Georgian, Slavonic, Erpenius' Arabic, Persian of Tawos.¹
4. Greek Liturgies. The 'Embolismus' was confessedly *intercalated* between integral parts of the Lord's Prayer, as a paraphrase of a petition. The following have the doxology, though with occasional variations, St. James, St. Peter, St. John, St. Mark, St. Clement, St. Dionysius, St. Ignatius, St. Julius, St. Eustathius, St. Chrysostom, St. Marutha, St. Cyril of Philoxenus, Philoxenus of Hierapolis, Dioscorus, James Baradatus, Matthæus Pastor, James (bp. of Botna), James of Edessa, Moses Bar-Cepha, Philoxenus (bp. of Bagdad), &c., &c.²
5. Fathers : Δοξα, 31 (Bryennius) with variation.
Apostolical Constitutions (iii. 18) (vii. 25 with variation.)
Ambrose (De Sacr. vi. 5. 24.³)
Cæsarius (Dial. I. 29.⁴)

¹ Malan, "Select Readings," p. 26; "Seven Chapters," pp. 57, 86-92; Scrivener, "Plain Introduction," pp. 571-3.

² Renaudot, "Liturg. Or.," vol. ii.; Malan, "Select Readings," p. 26.

³ St. Ambrose, in "De Sacra.," v. 4, professedly quotes St. Luke.

⁴ Cf. In "S. Greg. Libr. Sacram. Notæ, Migne, Bibl. Petr. Lat." 78, p. 291.

Chrysostom (In Orat. Dom.) (Hom. in Matt. xix. 13.)

Opus Imperfectum (Hom. in Matt. xiv.)

Isidore of Pelusium (Ep. iv. 24.)

Theophylact (in Matt vi. 13.)

Euthymius Zigabenus (in Matt. xi. 13.) (Contra Mas-salianos, Anath. 7.¹)

6. (a). Under any circumstances, with two Forms, there must have been many omissions by writers who followed the shorter Form. Those who dispute the authenticity of the Doxology as part of the Lord's Prayer, have not only to prove the use of the Prayer without the Doxology, but must also disprove the existence of the Doxology as an integral member of the Prayer;—the omission of it not only by St. Luke, but by St. Matthew also.

(b). The admitted omission of the Doxology in St. Luke, and the fact that the Lord's Prayer in its other Form is complete without the Doxology would satisfactorily account for its being left out by some scribes also in St. Matthew, besides that this might have arisen solely from the intercalation of the Embolismus.

The evidence is too strong and too ancient, reaching back unintermittedly to the second century, as in the Peshito, the Δοξα, some Old Latin, and the Thebaic, to allow hesitation in receiving the Doxology as an authentic part of the Lord's Prayer, and of St. Matthew's Gospel. The omission is due to a Western reading, of a similar character to the last, though somewhat more strongly supported.

VI. THE SON OF GOD'S ETERNAL EXISTENCE IN HEAVEN.

Ὁ ὢν ἐν τῇ Οὐρανῷ.

(St. John iii. 13.)

A. Against the genuineness of the words :—

1. NBLT^b. ὢν is omitted by A.*

2. 33.

¹ Wrongly quoted by Tischendorf on the other side.

3. "Ω is omitted by Evangelistarium 44.
4. Ethiopic (?), one MS. of the Memphitic.
5. Armenian versions of Ephraem's Tatian, Eusebius (2) (?), Cyril of Alexandria (?), Origen (?).

B. For :—

1. AEGHKMSUVTAΠ. CDF fail us here.
2. All Cursives, except 33.
3. All Evangelistaria.
4. Peshito, Curetonian, Harclean, Jerusalem, Old Latin, Vulgate, Memphitic (except one MS.). Ethiopic (?), Georgian, Armenian.
5. Origen (2), Hippolytus, Athanasius, Didymus, Aphraates, Basil, Epiphanius, Nonnus, ps. Dionysius Alex., Eustathius, Chrysostom (4), Theodoret (4), Cyril of Alexandria (4), Paulus of Emesa, Theodorus of Mopsuestia, John Damascene (3), Ambrose, Hilary, Jerome, Augustine, and eighteen others, &c.¹
6. The hardness of the words renders it impossible for them to have been invented.

This evidence precludes all doubt.

VII. GOD MANIFESTED IN THE FLESH.

(1 Tim. iii. 16.)

There are three readings, viz., $\bar{\Theta}S$ (*i.e.* $\Theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$), "OS, and "O.

A. Evidence for "OS, as claimed :—

1. N* A* (?) C* (?) F? G?
2. 17, 73, 181?
3. Apostolus 12, 85, 86.
4. Gothic, Peshito? Memphitic? Thebaic? Armenian? Ethiopic? Arabic of Erpenius?
5. Cyril of Alexandria? Epiphanius? Theodorus of Mopsuestia?

B. Evidence for "O, as claimed :—

1. D* of St. Paul (Claromontanus).

¹ Burgon, "Revision Revised," p. 133.

2. No Cursives.
3. Old Latin, Vulgate, Peshito? Memphitic? Thebaic? Ethiopic? Armenian?
4. Gelasius of Cyzicus, and an Unknown Writer (App. to Chrysostom).

C. Evidence claimed for $\Theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$ ($\bar{\Theta}S$):—

1. A? KLP.
2. 260 Cursives, *i.e.* all except two.
3. 36 copies of the Apostolus.
4. Harclean, Georgian, Slavonic.
5. Cent. III. Dionysius of Alexandria.
 - " IV. Didymus, Gregory Nazianzen, Diodorus of Tarsus, Gregory of Nyssa (22 times), Chrysostom (3), a Book *Περὶ θείας σαρκώσεως*.
 - " V. Cyril of Alexandria (2), Theodoret of Cyrus (4) an anonymous author, Euthalius, Macedonius.
 - " VI. Severus of Antioch.
 - " VIII. &c. John Damascene, Epiphanius of Catana, Theodorus Studita, some Scholia, Œcumenius, Theophylact, Euthymius.

REMARKS.

(I) Evidence for "OS :—

1. The question whether A witnesses for "O ς or for $\bar{\Theta}S$ must depend upon the answer to the prior question whether the two cross lines were originally there or not. Now Patrick Young, Huish, Bp. Pearson, Bp. Fell, Mill, Bentley, John Creyk, Berriman, Bengel, Woide in 1765, say that the reading was $\bar{\Theta}S$. On the other hand, Griesbach, in 1785, and since that time Davidson, Tregelles, Dr. Westcott, Dr. Hort, and Bp. Ellicott,—Dr. Scrivener in 1860 dissents—pronounce against the lines. But

(a) Berriman added, 'If therefore at any time hereafter the old line' (*i.e.* inside the Θ) 'should become altogether undiscoverable, there never will be just cause 'to doubt but that the genuine and original heading 'of the MS. was $\bar{\Theta}S$.'

(b) Woide in 1785 declared that he could not see the lines which he had actually seen in 1765.

(c) Any one may convince himself by inspection that the MS. is too far gone to admit of any trustworthy opinion being now formed, and as is probable in many a past year.

There can be no real doubt, therefore, that A did witness for $\Theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$. The adverse testimonies have been given since Woide spoke; and indeed Griesbach said in 1785 that curious fingers had then rendered any certain conclusion impossible.

2. As to C, Wetstein, Griesbach, and Tischendorf on one side are balanced by Woide, Mill, Weber, and Parquoi, on the other. A palimpsest is a most unsuitable witness in such a delicate question. C must be held to be neutral.

3. Both F and G, which are admitted to be copies of the same MS.,¹ have here a straight line *above* the two letters slightly inclining upwards. The question is, whether it be the aspirate, in which case they would witness for $\text{''}\Theta\varsigma$, or the sign of contraction, as for $\Theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$. The arguments appeared to be balanced. F and G must therefore be set aside as neutral.

4. Cursive '181' cannot be found.

5. The Peshito, Memphitic, Thebaic, and Ethiopic Versions, probably witness to $\text{''}\Theta$.

6. The Armenian and Arabic are indeterminate.

(II.) The evidence for $\text{''}\Theta$ is admitted not to be very strong. Such as it is, it is against both of the other readings and cannot be held to be confirmatory of either.

(III.) The comparison of $\text{''}\Theta\varsigma$ with $\Theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$ remains :—

1. 'Proclivi lectioni præstat ardua.' $\text{''}\Theta\varsigma$ is the harder grammatically, but $\Theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$ is decidedly the harder if the sense is consulted, since there could hardly be a more audacious change than to foist this word wrongly into the text.

¹ See above, p. 47, note 3.

2. $\text{''}\Theta\varsigma$ is likely to be a degeneration from $\bar{\Theta}\varsigma$: but not $\bar{\Theta}\varsigma$ from $\text{''}\Theta\varsigma$.

3. When admitted, $\Theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$ explains $\mu\upsilon\sigma\tau\acute{\eta}\rho\iota\omicron\upsilon\omicron$, and makes better grammar.

4. But the burden of decision must, as always, rest upon the evidence. Now

a. There is no strong leaning either way of Uncials or Versions, though the inclination of Uncials is towards $\Theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$.

b. The very remarkable unanimity of the Cursives indicates a practical decision of the Church before manuscripts had reached their most perfect condition, *i.e.* in Uncial times.

c. The overwhelming testimony of Fathers to MSS. in their use, reaching back further than any existing MSS., adds a very powerful witness.

On the whole, the evidence decidedly shows that $\Theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$ is genuine.

INDEX.

[For *Alexandrian MS.*, *Vatican MS.*, &c., and *A*, *B*, &c., see under
Codex; and for *Peshito*, *Vulgate*, &c., see under *Versions*.]

	PAGE		PAGE
A BBOT, professor Ezra	23	Archilaus with Manes	85
Accents	89	Arianism	78, &c.
Acta Pilati	85	Ariminum, Council of	52
Acts and Catholic Epistles	101, 106, 107	Aristophanes	88
Agony and Bloody Sweat	2, 111, 128-30	Arius	85
Aidan, St.	90	Athanasius, St.	85, 87
Alexander II., the emperor	24	Athenagoras	85
Alexandria, 77-8, 70, 89—		Athos, Mt.	17
libraries at	90	Augustine, St.	75, 87
Alexandrian readings	51	Aurelian	90
Alexandrian text (so-called)	41, 51	Authorized Version, from what	
Alter	17	text	12
Ambrose, St.	87	Autographs, the	72, 93
Ammonian Sections	80 note 6		
Angelic Hymn, the	130-1	Barnabas, St., 97—his epistle	46
Angelic Salutation	57	Basil, St.	63, 85, 87, 97
Anglo-Saxon Scribes	90	Basilides	70
Antioch	51, 73	Beezebul	28
Apocalypse	101, 106, 107	Benedict, St.	89
Apostoli	112	Bengel	15, 16
Apostolical Constitutions	85, 100 note 2	Bentley	14-15, 21, 31, 50, 96
Aphraates	85	Beza	10-11, 12
		Bilingual manuscripts	11, 99
		Birch	17
		Boniface	90

	PAGE		PAGE
Breathings	88	Codex—see also Manuscripts	
British and Foreign Bible		—(continued).	
Society	22	—how estimated, 43-4,	
Bruchium	90	27, 34, 35, 46, 56.	
Buda	91	Also 9, 15, 21, 36, 39,	
Burton, Dean, his works, 33—		40, 48 &c., 88, 92, 95,	
misrepresented, 30—prin-		97, 101, 103, 106, 107, 110	
ciples, 34—great Patristic		κ (Sinaiticus) how found,	
knowledge, 53 note. Also		24-5—when produced,	
31, 46, 47 notes 1 and 2,		81-3—character, 54-9	
52 note, 56, 60, 71 note, 78,		—carelessness, 53—	
100, 106, 107, 110, 117		how estimated, 26, 34,	
Buttmann, Philip	20	35, 46. Also 26, 36, 39,	
		40, 48 &c., 88, 92, 95,	
Cæsarea	83	97, 101, 106, 107, 110	
Caius	71	C (Ephraemi, Parisian)	
Canon of Holy Scripture . .	104	date, 95-6—character,	
Catholic Antiquity	93	96 Also 21, 26, 97	
Ceriani	36	D (Bezae, or Cambridge),	
Cerinthus	70	date, 99—character,	
Charisius	88	100 . Also 11, 41, 92, 106	
Childhood of Textual Criticism		D of St. Paul (Claromon-	
	12-19	tanus) 11, 100	
Chrysostom, St., 17, 35, 63, 83		E (Basiliensis) 100, 106	
87, 102—age of	86-91	E of the Acts (Laudia-	
Church, the, silent action of,		nus) 100	
91—duty of	118-19	F of St. Paul (Augiensis) 32,	
Clement of Alexandria 41, 71, 77		47 note 3.	
Clementine Homilies . . .	85	L (Regius), 23 note 1,	
Cobet	35	49 note 1, 100	
Codex—see also Manuscripts.		Δ (Sangallensis) in St.	
A (Alexandrinus) pre-		Mark 100	
sented by Cyril Lucar,		Ξ (Zacynthius) 22, 100	
13—when produced and		Σ (Rossanensis) 48 note, 98,	
character, 95. Also 16,		100	
21, 26, 33, 35, 50, 97, 106		Friderico-Augustanus 24	
B (Vaticanus) when pro-		Montfortianus (61) 9, 107	
duced, 81-3—character,		See also Table, 108, 109,	
54-9—blunders, 26-29		and 21 note 1, 22, 49	

	PAGE		PAGE
Codex—see also Manuscripts		Donatus	88
—(continued).		Doxology in the Lord's Prayer,	
note 1, 98, 100, and		131-3, 100, 112	
Uncial Manuscripts, and		Eclipse of the sun	3, 46
Cursive Manuscripts.		Edessa	51
Columba	90	Elzevir, Abraham	11
Complutensian Polyglott, 7-8, 10, 12		— Bonaventure	11
Conjectural Emendation . 65-6, 47		Enkratites	71
note 1		Ephraem, St.	85
Constantine 81-3, 55, 90		— Ps.	85
Constantinople, library at 91		Epiphanius	71, 85
Cook, Canon, 34-5, 27, 31, 51		Erasmus	8-10, 12
note, 56 note		Eucharist, Holy	68
Cornelius' servants	28	Eusebian Canons	80 note 6
Courcelles, or Curcellæus 13		Eusebius 79-83, 22, 23, 35, 41,	
Corruption of Text, causes		55, 71, 85, 91	
and extent of	68-72	Evangelistaria, or Evangeliaria, 112	
Cry, Our Lord's last	2	Evangelists	68 and note
Cure in pool of Bethesda 2		Evidence, External 61-2, 32, 34,	
Cursive Manuscripts, 106-7—		118, 120	
number of, 100-1—value of,		— Internal, place of, 45-6,	
101-2—follow the Uncials,		120—seven canons, 120-22.	
102 Also 16, 18, 22, 61		Also	39, 54
Cyprian, St.	21, 85	Extreme Textualism	20-30
Cyril of Alexandria, St.	87	Families of MSS. (so-called),	
Cyril of Jerusalem, St.	85, 87	40-1, 50-1, 16, 17, 18, 61	
Cyril Lucar	13	Fathers, 116-7—their value,	
		116—Manuscripts at second	
Damasus	98	hand, 116—older than any	
Dancing-girl	27	existing MSS., 117—not	
Davidson, Dr.	19	uncritical, 96-7—mainly	
Diatessaron, Tatian's	71	support the Traditional	
Διδάχη 100 note 2		Text, 91, 103 . Also 7, 16, 21,	
Didymus	85	22, 34, 62, 73	
Diocletian, persecution of, 48, 73, 90		Fell, bp.	13
Diomedes	88	Ferrar, Professor W. H.	107
Dionysius of Alexandria	41, 85	Frederic Augustus	24
Dionysius of Corinth	71	Froben	8
Dobbin, Dr.	55		

	PAGE		PAGE
Gebhart, Oscar von . . .	98	Irish Missionaries . . .	90
Genealogy . . .	40, 47-9, 101	Itacism	89
Ghost, God the Holy . . .	66, 119, 122		
Gloria in Excelsis . . .	112, 130-1	Jerome, St. . . 21, 53 note 1, 55, 75,	
Gnosticism	70, 78	87, 98-9	
God manifested in The Flesh . . .	134-7	Joanes	28
Golgoth	28	Julius Africanus	85
Gospels, Synoptic, whence rose		Justin Martyr 71, 84, 111	
their accordance, 67 note—		— Ps.	85
why written, 68 note—			
number of MSS. of . . .	106, 107	Kilian, St.	90
Gregory, Dr. C. R. . . .	11 note, 23	Koum	28
— Nazianzen, St., 63,		Kuenen	35
68 note, 85, 87			
— of Nyssa, St.	63, 85, 87	Lachmann, 20-1, 22, 26, 32, 35, 38	
Griesbach	17, 18	Laurence, abp.	9
Gutenberg	7	Lectionaries, value of, 102-3,	
Gwilliam, Rev. G. H. . .	115 note	110-12 — their great virtual	
		antiquity, 110, 117—a cause	
		of error	109, 61, 101, 117
Harkel, Thomas of	103	Lections	67
Harnach, Adolph	98	Lee, abp.	9
Hegesippus	85	Leo the Great, St.	87
Hesychius	79, 81	Leontius	85
— the Lexicographer . . .	88	Liturgies . . . 110-12, 100 note 2, 117	
Hilary, St.	21, 87	Lombard Scribes	90
Hippolytus	85	Lord's Prayer, the, 2—doxo-	
Hort, Professor, 25-30, 35,		logy in	131-3, 100, 112
38-59, 76 note 3, 114 note 3		Lucian	79, 81, 98 note 4
Hugo, Cardinal	10	Lucifer	85
Hyperides	88	Luke, St., why he wrote his	
		gospel	68 note
Ignatius, St.	84		
Inscription on the Cross . .	3	Macarius Magnes	85
Infancy of Textual Criticism .	1-12	Manuscripts, 87-90 — relative	
Institution of Holy Eucharist .	3, 57	value of, 93, 117. Also 6,	
Internal Evidence, see Evi-		7, 17. See Codex.	
dence.		Marcion	70, 85
Irenæus, St.	21, 71, 72, 84		

	PAGE		PAGE
Mark, St., 78—why he wrote		New Testament, passages	
his gospel, 68 note—last		quoted from—(continued).	
twelve verses . . . 125-7, 1, 33, 96,	111	St. Matt. xv. 32 . . .	58
		" — 39 . . .	58
Marsh, bp.	16	" xvi. 2, 3 . . .	57
Martin, Abbè	36	" — 12 . . .	58
Matthæi, C. F., 16-17, 107—		" xvii. 21 . . .	28
his accuracy	16, 31	" — 22 . . .	58
Matthew, St., why he wrote		" — 23 . . .	58
his gospel	68 note	" xviii. 11 . . .	57
Melitene	28, 121	" xx. 16 . . .	57
Michelsen, Dr.	36	" — 22 . . .	57
Mill, Dr. John . . . 13-14, 17, 31		" — 23 . . .	57
Moldenhawer	17	" xxi. 19 . . .	58
Monasteries	89	" — 31 . . .	122
Monte Cassino	89	" xxiii. 14 . . .	57
		" xxvi. 28 . . .	57
Nazara	28	" — 39 . . .	112
Neutral Text (so-called) . .	41, 51	" xxvii. 33 . . .	57
New Testament, passages quo-		" — 49 . . .	3
ted from—		" xxviii. 9 . . .	57
St. Matt. i. 25 . . .	57	" — 19 . . .	58
" iv. 13 . . .	28	St. Mark i. 39 . . .	27
" — 23 . . .	27	" ii. 5 . . .	58
" v. 22 . . .	57	" — 9 . . .	58
" — 44 . . .	57	" iii. 28 . . .	58
" vi. 4 . . .	57	" — 29 . . .	58
" — 13 . . . 2, 112,		" v. 41 . . .	28
131 &c.		" vi. 11 . . .	57
" — 18 . . .	57	" — 21 . . .	59
" viii. 5 . . .	58	" — 22 . . .	27
" x. 25 . . .	28	" — 33 . . . 42, 57	
" xi. 16 . . . 57, 121		" — 36 . . .	57
" — 23 . . .	58	" vii. 3 . . .	58
" xii. 47 . . .	57	" — 16 . . .	57
" xiv. 6 . . .	27	" viii. 26 . . .	57
" — 29 . . .	58	" ix. 29 . . .	57
" xv. 13 . . .	58	" — 44 . . .	57
" — 22 . . .	28	" — 46 . . .	57

	PAGE		PAGE
New Testament, passages quoted from—(continued).		New Testament, passages quoted from—(continued).	
St. Mark x. 6 . . .	57	St. Luke xiv. 44 . . .	57
„ — 7 . . .	57	„ xvi. 12 . . .	58
„ — 21 . . .	57	„ xvii. 6 . . .	59
„ — 24 . . .	57	„ — 19 . . .	57
„ xi. 8 . . .	57	„ — 36 . . .	57
„ — 19 . . .	59	„ — 24 . . .	57
„ — 22 . . .	59	„ xxii. 19, 20 . 2, 27	
„ — 26 . . .	57	„ — 43, 44 . 2, 53,	
„ xii. 30 . . .	57	„ III, 128 &c.	
„ — 33 . . .	57	„ — 55 . . .	58
„ xiii. 14 . . .	59	„ — 64 . . .	57
„ — 18 . . .	57	„ xxiii. 17 . . .	57
„ xiv. 22-24 . . .	57	„ — 34 . 2, 53, III,	
„ — 35 . . .	59	„ 127 &c.	
„ — 68 . . .	57	„ — 38 . . .	3
„ xv. 39 . . .	3	„ — 45 . . .	2
„ xvi. 4 . . .	58	„ xxiv. 1 . . .	57
„ — 9-20 . . . I, 53,		„ — 3 . . .	27
96, 123 &c.		„ — 6 . . .	27
St. Luke i. 28 . . .	57	„ — 9 . . .	27
„ ii. 14 . . . 53, 58,		„ — 12 . . . 3, 27	
96, 125 &c.		„ — 15 . . .	2
„ iv. 4 . . .	57	„ — 36 . . . 3, 27	
„ — 5 . . .	57	„ — 40 . . . 3, 27	
„ — 16 . . .	28	„ — 42 . . .	57
„ — 44 . . .	27	„ — 52 . . .	27
„ vi. 1 . . . 57, 120		„ — 53 . . .	57
„ — 26 . . .	57	St. John i. 27 . . .	57
„ — 45 . . .	57	„ iii. 13 . . . 57,	
„ viii. 16 . . .	57	„ 133 &c.	
„ — 43 . . .	57	„ v. 3, 4 . . . 3, 57	
„ ix. 55, 56 . . .	57	„ vi. 51 . . .	57
„ x. 22 . . .	57	„ vii. 53 — viii. 11	
„ — 42 . . .	58	„ 121	
„ xi. 2-4 . . .	2	„ viii. 59 . . .	57
„ xii. 56 . . . 58, 120		„ xiii. 32 . . .	57
„ xiv. 10 . . .	59	„ xiv. 1 . . .	112

	PAGE		PAGE
New Testament, passages quoted from—(continued).		New Testament, passages quoted from—(continued).	
St. John xiv. 4 . . .	57	Heb. vii. 21 . . .	57
„ xvi. 16 . . .	57	James i. 20 . . .	58
„ xix. 17 . . .	28	1 Pet. iii. 1 . . .	59
Acts iii. 6 . . .	57	2 Pet. ii. 12 . . .	58
„ x. 19 . . .	27	1 John v. 7 . . .	9
„ — 30 . . .	57	Nicea, Council of . . .	14, 52
„ xi. 11 . . .	28	Nisibis . . .	51
„ xii. 25 . . .	28	Oral teaching . . .	67
„ xiii. 7 . . .	59	Origen . 18, 21, 22, 71, 78-80, 85	
„ xv. 18 . . .	57	Origenism . . .	78 &c.
„ — 24 . . .	57	Orthodox, no evidence that	
„ xvi. 13 . . .	59	they depraved Holy Scrip-	
„ xviii. 7 . . .	28	ture . . .	69, 121 note 5
„ — 21 . . .	57	Pamphilus, 79, 80, 81, 83—	
„ xxi. 22 . . .	57	library of . . .	91
„ — 25 . . .	57	Pantæus . . .	78
„ xxiv. 6, 7, 8 . . .	57	Patristic Era . . . 86 &c., 104	
„ xxv. 13 . . .	58	Paragraphs, bible, due to Ben-	
„ xxvii. 13 . . .	58	gel . . .	16
„ xxviii. 1 . . . 28, 121		Paul, St., Pauline Epistles	
„ — 29 . . .	57	101—number of MSS. of, 106, 107	
Rom. v. 1 . . .	58	Peace be unto you . . .	3
„ — — . . .	59	Pericope adulteræ . . .	121
„ xv. 24 . . .	57	Peter of Alexandria . . .	41
1 Cor. iii. 1 . . .	58	Philo . . .	77
„ ix. 24 . . .	3	Philoxenus . . .	103
„ xiii. 3 . . .	58	Piercing of our Lord's Side . 3, 96	
„ — 5 . . .	29	Pierius . . .	80
2 Cor. v. 14 . . .	57	Polycarp, St., Martyrdom of . 73	
Eph. i. 1 . . .	57	— translator . . .	103
„ — 15 . . .	57	Praxapostoli . . .	112
Col. iii. 6 . . .	57	Priscian . . .	88
1 Thess. i. 1 . . .	57	Ptolemy Euergetes . . .	90
„ ii. 7 . . .	58	Question, nature of the . . .	64
1 Tim. iii. 16 . . . 53, 134 &c.			
Tit. ii. 5 . . .	58		
Heb. ii. 7 . . .	57		

	PAGE		PAGE
Quotations from Ecclesiastical Writers	116-7	Sound Textualism	30-37, 60-4
Received Text, when first so-called, 11—nature of, 12—relation to Traditional Text, 12, 63, 119—rejected by Lachmann, 21—by Tregelles, 22—how treated by Tischendorf, 25—by Westcott and Hort, 27, 30—by Sound Textualists	32, 33	Stephen, Robert, his editions, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15	
Reiche, J. G.	17, 35	— Henry	10, 11
Revised Version, number of changes in, 3 note—mainly follows Westcott and Hort, 29-30. Also 26, 28, 34, 38 note		Stunica	8, 9
Roman Catholic opinion	36	Syrian Text—no foundation for this term, 39 note, 51-54. See Traditional Text.	
Sanday, Professor, 38 note, 76 note 3, 114 note 3		Tatian, his diatessaron, 71, 80 note 6	
Saracens	90, 91	Tatian, Ps.	85
Scholz	18	Tertullian	71, 72, 73, 84
Scriptures, the Holy, corporate as well as individual productions	67	Textual Criticism, prevailing ignorance of, 4—history of 6-37	
Scrivener, Dr., his works and opinions, 30-32, 11, 12 note, 18 and notes 2 and 3, 26 note 1, 46, 50, 52 note, 55, 56, 60, 61, 69 note 2, 82, 106, 107, 114		Textualism, Sacred, how differs from Classical	65-8
Semler	17	Theodoret	71
Serapeum	90	Theodosius	90
Severus	96	Theophilus of Antioch	84
Sharpe, abp.	14	Tischendorf, his great works and labours, 23-25—not a trustworthy judge of principles, 27	Also 55, 56, 82
Simon Magus	70	Titius or Titus Justus	28, 121
Sinai, Mt.	25	Titus of Bostra	85
SON of GOD, the, Eternal Existence of	133-4	Traditional Text, not the same as the Received Text, 12, 13, 63, 119—when settled, 91 &c.—the great object of discovery, 119-20—the true Text, 62-4—admitted by Extreme Textualists to go back to St. Chrysostom, 23—called "Syrian" and treated as worthless by Westcott and Hort, 42-3— —not a late invention, 51,	

	PAGE		PAGE
53-4—dates from the ² first, 73, 83-5. Also 51, 101, 102, 107		Versions—(continued).	
Transcribing, art of, 7, 88-90, 93, 102		Persic	103
Tregelles, S. P., his labours and books	21-3, 32	Peshito, 74-5, 51, 85, 98, 100 note 2	
Uncial Manuscripts, 105-6—table of, 108-9—opposition of Cursives to, a figment, 102	Also 16, 22, 60	Philoxenian	103
Uncouth names in B	28	Sahidic, see Thebaic.	
Vercellone	36, 56	Slavonic	103
Versions, 113-15—table of, 113—older than manuscripts, 117—value of, 114-5. Also 6, 7, 22, 16, 34, 43, 61, 73, 102		Thebaic, 76-7, 98, 100 note 2	
Anglo-Saxon	103	Vulgate	98-99
Arabic	103	Victor of Antioch	96
Armenian	99	Vincentius	85
Bahiric, see Memphitic.		Wake, abp.	14
Bashmuri	98	Walker, John	15
Curetonian Syriac, 51, 74 note, 100 note 2		Walton, bp.	13
Elearchian, see Bashmuri.		Westcott, Professor, 25-30, 38-59, 35	
Ethiopian	99	Western Readings	41, 51
Frankish	103	Wetstein	16, 96
Georgian	99	Woide	15
Gothic	94-5, 13, 98	Word, the first from the Cross 127-8, 2	
Harclean	103	Wordsworth, Bp. Christopher 35 and note 2, 77	
Italic, see Old Latin.		— Bp. Charles	35
Latin, Old, 76 and note 3, 21, 85, 98, 115		— Bp. John	76 note 3
Memphitic	76-7, 13, 98	Worship, Common	68
		Written records, scarcity of at first	71
		Xenaias	103
		Ximenes, cardinal	7-9
		Youth of Textual Science	20-30
		Zacynthius, see Codex.	
		Zeno, emperor	97

THE OXFORD DEBATE
ON THE
TEXTUAL CRITICISM OF THE
NEW TESTAMENT

HELD AT NEW COLLEGE

ON MAY 6, 1897

WITH A PREFACE EXPLANATORY OF THE
RIVAL SYSTEMS

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PREFACE

THE debate, of which the following pages contain a report, was the result of an offer courteously made by the Rev. Dr. Sanday, Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity, when I asked him whether those who are devoted to the study of Theology in Oxford would be ready to hear an explanation from me of the system of Textual Criticism advocated by the late Dean Burgon and myself, in order to the removal of misconceptions of it.

The speeches made in the debate have been referred both in manuscript and in type to the several speakers for their approval and corrections.

In compliance with a thoughtful suggestion, the ensuing descriptions of the two present systems have been prefixed to the Report of the discussion, for the purpose of reference in the case of readers who have not a familiar acquaintance with them ready for use. And it is hoped that, taken together with the debate, they may form an easy means to many students of the Bible of learning some of the chief points in a very important study and controversy. The former of these two descriptions, according to Dr. Sanday's suggestion, has been taken with the kind leave of the author from *Our Bible and the Ancient Monuments*, by Frederick G. Kenyon, M.A., D.Litt., of the British Museum.

Dr. Kenyon's description has received special praise from Mr. Hort in the *Life* of his illustrious father. The second I have prepared especially for this little book.

I. DR. HORT'S SYSTEM.

'Westcott and Hort's Theory.'

'One critic of earlier days, Griesbach by name, at the end of the last century, essayed the task of grouping, and two distinguished Cambridge scholars of our own day, Bishop Westcott and the late Professor Hort, have renewed the attempt with much greater success. They believe that by far the larger number of our extant MSS. can be shown to contain a revised (and less original) text; that a comparatively small group has texts derived from manuscripts which escaped, or were previous to, this revision; and that, consequently, the evidence of this small group is almost always to be preferred to that of the great mass of MSS. and versions. It is this theory, which has been set out with conspicuous learning and conviction by Dr. Hort, that we propose now to sketch in brief; for it appears to mark an epoch in the history of New Testament criticism.

'Groups of MSS. in New Testament.'

'An examination of passages in which two or more different readings exist shows that one small group of authorities, consisting of the uncial manuscripts B, \aleph , L, a few cursives such as Evan. 33, Act. 61, and the Memphitic and Thebaic versions, is generally found in agreement; another equally clearly marked group consists of D, the Old Latin and Old Syriac versions, and cursives 13, 69, 81 of the Gospels, 44, 137, and 180 of the Acts, and Evst. 39, with a few others more intermittently; while A, C (generally), the later uncials, and the great mass of cursives and

the later versions form another group, numerically overwhelming. Sometimes each of these groups will have a distinct reading of its own; sometimes two of them will be combined against the third; sometimes an authority which usually supports one group will be found with one of the others. But the general division into groups remains constant and is the basis of the present theory.

'Combined or "Conflate" Readings.'

'Next, it is possible to distinguish the origins and relative priority of the groups. In the first place, many passages occur in which the first group described above has one reading, the second has another, and the third combines the two. Thus in the last words of St. Luke's Gospel (as the Variorum Bible shows), \aleph , B, C, L, with the Memphitic and one Syriac version, have "blessing God"; D and the Old Latin have "praising God"; but A and twelve other uncials, all the cursives, the Vulgate and other versions, have "praising and blessing God." Instances like this occur, not once nor twice, but repeatedly. Now it is in itself more probable that the combined reading in such cases is later than, and is the result of, two separate readings. It is more likely that a copyist, finding two different words in two or more manuscripts before him, would put down both in his copy, than that two scribes, finding a combined phrase in their originals, would each select one part of it alone to copy, and would each select a different one. The motive for combining would be praiseworthy—the desire to make sure of keeping the right word by retaining both; but the motive for separating would be vicious, since it involves the deliberate rejection of some words of the sacred text. Moreover we know that such combination was actually practised; for, as has been stated above, it is a marked characteristic of Lucian's edition of the Septuagint.

'Localisation of Groups by aid of the Fathers.

'At this point the evidence of the Fathers becomes important as to both the time and the place of origin of these combined (or as Dr. Hort technically calls them "conflate") readings. They are found to be characteristic of the Scripture quotations in the works of Chrysostom, who was bishop of Antioch in Syria at the end of the fourth century, and of other writers in or about Antioch at the same time; and thenceforward it is the predominant text in manuscripts, versions, and quotations. Hence this type of text, the text of our later uncials, cursives, early printed editions, and Authorised Version, is believed to have taken its rise in or near Antioch, and is known as the "Syrian" text. The type found in the second of the groups above described, that headed by D, the Old Latin and Old Syriac, is called the "Western" text, as being especially found in Latin manuscripts and in those which (like D) have both Greek and Latin texts, though it is certain that it had its origin in the East, probably in or near Asia Minor. There is another small group, earlier than the Syrian, but not represented continuously by any one MS. (mainly by C in the Gospels, A, C, in Acts and Epistles, with certain cursives and occasionally N and L), to which Dr. Hort gives the name of "Alexandrian." The remaining group, headed by B, may be best described as the "Neutral" text.

'The "Syrian" Readings latest.

'Now among all the Fathers whose writings are left to us from before the middle of the third century (notably Irenæus, Hippolytus, Clement, Origen, Tertullian, and Cyprian), we find readings belonging to the groups described as Western, Alexandrian, and Neutral, but *no distinctly Syrian readings*¹. On the other hand, we have

¹ The italics are Mr. Kenyon's.

seen that in the latter part of the fourth century, especially in the region of Antioch, Syrian readings are found plentifully. Add to this the fact that, as stated above, the Syrian readings often show signs of having been derived from a combination of non-Syrian readings, and we have strong confirmation of the belief, which is the corner-stone of Dr. Hort's theory, that the Syrian type of text originated in a revision of the then existing texts, made about the end of the third century in or near Antioch. The result of accepting this conclusion obviously is, that where the Syrian text differs from that of the other groups, it must be rejected as being of later origin, and therefore less authentic; and when it is remembered that by far the greater number of our authorities contain a Syrian text, the importance of this conclusion is manifest. In spite of their numerical preponderance, the Syrian authorities must be relegated to the lowest place.

'The "Western" Group.

'Of the remaining groups, the Western text is characterised by considerable freedom of addition, and sometimes of omission. Whole verses, or even longer passages, are found in manuscripts of this family, which are entirely absent from all other copies. Some of them will be found enumerated in the following chapter in the description of D, the leading manuscript of this class. It is evident that this type of text must have had its origin in a time when strict exactitude in copying the books of the New Testament was not regarded as a necessary virtue. In early days the copies of the New Testament books were made for immediate edification, without any idea that they would be links in a chain for the transmission of the sacred texts to a distant future; and a scribe might innocently insert in the narrative additional details which he believed to be true and valuable. Fortunately the literary conscience of

Antioch and Alexandria was more sensitive, and so this tendency did not spread very far, and was checked before it had greatly contaminated the Bible text. Western manuscripts often contain old and valuable readings, but any variety which shows traces of the characteristic Western vice of amplification or explanatory addition must be rejected, unless it has strong support outside the purely Western group of authorities.

'The "Alexandrian" Group.'

'There remain the Alexandrian and the Neutral groups. The Alexandrian text is represented, not so much by any individual MS. or version, as by certain readings found scattered about in manuscripts which elsewhere belong to one of the other groups. They are readings which have neither Western nor Syrian characteristics, and yet differ from what appears to be the earliest form of the text; and being found most regularly in the quotations of Origen, Cyril of Alexandria, and other Alexandrian Fathers, as well as in the Memphitic version, they are reasonably named Alexandrian. Their characteristics are such as might naturally be due to such a centre of Greek scholarship, since they affect the style rather than the matter, and appear to rise mainly from a desire for correctness of language. They are consequently of minor importance, and are not always distinctly recognisable.

'The "Neutral" Group.'

'The Neutral text, which we believe to represent most nearly the original text of the New Testament, is chiefly recognisable by the absence of the various forms of aberration noticed in the other groups. Its main centre is at Alexandria, but it also appears in places widely removed from that centre. Sometimes single authorities of the Western group will part company with the rest of their

family and exhibit readings which are plainly both ancient and non-Western, showing the existence of a text preceding the Western, and on which the Western variations have been grafted. This text must therefore not be assigned to any local centre. It belonged originally to all the Eastern world. In many parts of the East, notably in Asia Minor, it was superseded by the text which, from its transference to the Latin churches, we call Western. It remained pure longest in Alexandria, and is found in the writings of the Alexandrian Fathers, though even here slight changes of language were introduced, to which we have given the name of Alexandrian. Our main authority for it at the present day is the great Vatican manuscript known as B, and this is often supported by the equally ancient Sinaitic manuscript (N), and by the other manuscripts and versions named above (p. vi). Where the readings of this Neutral text can be plainly discerned, as by the concurrence of all or most of these authorities, they may be accepted with confidence in the face of all the numerical preponderance of other texts; and in so doing lies our best hope of recovering the true words of the New Testament.'

Reference may also be made, for a short account, to the *Life and Letters of Fenton John Anthony Hort*, by his Son (Macmillan & Co.), vol. ii. pp. 244-252; and for more information, to Dr. Hort's celebrated *Introduction* (Macmillan & Co.) published in 1881.

II. BURGON AND MILLER'S SYSTEM.

§ 1. *The True Text.*

The great object of the Textual Criticism of the New Testament is the ascertainment of the actual or genuine words of the original autographs of the writers. Such an ascertainment can only be made with soundness and rest

upon a broad basis, if all the evidence that can be collected be sifted and taken into account, and in the case of readings where the evidence is not consistent a balance be struck with all impartiality and justice. The words thus ascertained must constitute the True Text, of which the following must be the essential characteristics:—

1. It must be grounded upon an exhaustive view of the evidence of Greek copies in manuscript in the first place; and in all cases where they differ so as to afford doubt, of Versions or Translations into other languages, and of Quotations from the New Testament made by Fathers and other early writers.

2. It must have descended from the actual composition of Books of the New Testament, and must thus possess the highest possible antiquity.

3. It must be the outcome, not of one stem of descent, but of many. Consentient copies, made by successive transcription in the different countries where the Holy Scriptures were used, revered, and jealously watched, must confirm and check one another.

4. The descent must be continuous, without break or failure, or it would be no real descent, but a fragmentary or stunted line of genealogy, broken up or prematurely closed.

5. The Readings, or Text, must be such as to commend themselves to the enlightened judgement of Christendom.

A. *The Neutral Text.*

Judged by these canons, the 'Neutral' Text of Dr. Hort must be rejected:—

(1) It rests upon a very few documents arbitrarily selected, and is hopelessly condemned by the vast majority. It cannot reckon, therefore, number or variety. Aspiring to be the expression of the standard work of the Catholic Church, it fails in catholicity.

(2) As a collection of readings, apart from separate readings of early date, we maintain that it does not go further back than the School of Caesarea, and that in consequence it does not as a Text possess the highest antiquity.

(3) It has only one stem by hypothesis,—the probable archetype of B and \aleph (the Vatican and Sinaitic), which Dr. Hort—gratuitously in our contention—thrusts back into the second century.

(4) It fails in continuity, because (a) there is thus a break or chasm in the earliest period, and (b) because by the admission of Dr. Hort himself it was superseded by the Traditional Text, by him termed 'Syrian,' before the end of the century (fourth) in which the latter Text acquired permanent expression.

(5) We contend that the Text itself is strangely blurred by numerous omissions of more or less length, including in some instances passages held by its supporters to be genuine extracts from the words or life of our Lord, and by other blemishes.

B. *The Received Text.*

The *Textus Receptus*, which was adopted in the revival of Greek learning, though it agrees substantially with our Canons, fails under the first, which is the virtual embodiment of them all; because some of its readings are condemned by the balance struck upon all the evidence which has been assembled under the unprecedented advantages afforded in this century. There remains therefore, in accordance with the Canons already laid down, only

C. *The Traditional Text.*

We maintain, then, that the Traditional Text, duly ascertained according to all the evidence with all fairness of judgement, will represent *the Text which issued from the pens of the writers of the New Testament and was used*

all over the Church; and which after contracting corruption to a large extent, perhaps in most places, was gradually purged in the main as years went on, though something is left still to be done.

In the ascertainment of this Text or these Readings, guidance is to be sought under seven Notes of Truth, viz.

1. Antiquity of witnesses
2. Number „
3. Variety „
4. Weight „
5. Continuity „
6. The Context of Passages
7. Internal Evidence.

These Seven Notes of Truth, which are essential to the Traditional Text, sufficiently exhibit the agreement of it with the Canons laid down. In fact, coincidence with the first Canon implies coincidence with all the rest. But the age and the uninterrupted existence of the Traditional Text must be further proved.

Now Dr. Hort has admitted that the Traditional Text has existed ever since the later years of the fourth century. The question remains only as to the period between that date and the issue of the autographs.

That the Traditional Text existed in that period is proved, in the absence of contemporaneous MSS. (except B and Aleph in the same century),

(1) By its undeniable prevalence afterwards. Such an almost universal prevalence implies a previous existence widely disseminated, and carried down in numerous stems of descent.

(2) The verdict of contemporaneous Fathers proves this position amply.

(3) The witness of the Peshitto and Old Latin Versions confirm it, to say nothing of occasional witness to separate readings found in the Egyptian Versions.

§ 2. *Origin and Prevalence of Corruption.*

We hold that Corruption arose at the very first propagation of stories or accounts of our Lord's Life, probably even before the Gospels were written. It must have infected teaching spread from mouth to mouth, as well as writings more or less orderly, and more or less authorized. From this source mistakes must have crept in course of time, and in constant process of copying, into the authorized copies. In early though in later days as well, when or where education was not universal in the Church, and Christians had not yet imbibed familiarity with the words of Holy Scripture, Corruption spread further. A great deal of such Corruption, as we believe, found its way into the Vatican and Sinaitic manuscripts. It was persistent and multiform; and has been analyzed and explained in our second volume.

§ 3. *Dr. Hort's disagreement with us.*

(1) We entirely traverse the assertion, that 'no distinctly Syrian (i.e. Traditional) readings' are found amongst the earliest Fathers. Very many of the readings in the Traditional Text which are rejected by the other school are supported by those Fathers: and there is no evidence, as we maintain, to show that they pertain to the other side or to any other Text rather than to us, or that readings confessedly old and found in the Traditional Text did not belong to that Text.

(2) We deny the existence of any Neutral Text, except as a collection, chiefly in B and Aleph, of corrupt readings, though we admit that many of those readings, if not most of them, are of very high antiquity. Considerable danger must attend all systems founded upon Texts or Groups,—valuable as these classifications are for subsidiary employment,—because they open the way more or less to

speculation and are apt to foster a shallow and delusive sciolism instead of a judicial view of evidence. Readings depending upon actual evidence afford the only true basis, though study of the causes of corruption, as well as other investigations, sheds light upon the matter.

(3) Important points of contention exist with reference to the age of the Peshitto or great Syriac Version (as to which the age of the Curetonian or Lewis is mainly a distinct question), the Theory of the Western Texts and the Latin Versions (or Version), and of Texts in general, as will be seen in the Report of the debate.

For more information, reference may be made to *The Traditional Text*, Burgon and Miller (George Bell & Sons), 1896, and *The Causes of Corruption* (Bells), 1896. Also to Burgon's *The Revision Revised*, 1883 (John Murray), and to Miller's *Textual Guide* (Bells), 1885, and upon the question of the Peshitto, to an article in the *Church Quarterly Review* for April, 1895.

E. M.

9, BRADMORE ROAD, OXFORD,
May 24, 1897.

DEBATE ON TEXTUAL CRITICISM OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

DR. INCE :—Gentlemen, I have accepted the invitation of Mr. Miller to preside on this occasion, coming rather as a learner. In some respects it looks as if the old custom of the Divinity Schools was being revived when there was going to be an opponent and respondent on each side, and then it was the duty of the Professor to act as moderator and sum up at the end the results of the debate. Such a moderator ought to be an expert in the subject. I cannot in the least pretend to be an expert. The exigencies of a long life in connexion with a great college which demanded so very much time, both for the tutorial work and for general superintendence, made it impossible for me to devote myself to any special research in such matters as the Textual Criticism of the Text of the Bible, even if one's own special tastes led one in that direction. Therefore that aspect of the old Divinity disputations will be wanting to-day. As I understand, the object of our meeting now is to hear a statement and have a discussion on the two great rival theories, as to what the true text and the original text of the New Testament is. It is hardly necessary to say that there is a strong division of opinion between the maintainers of that which for a long time has been the received text and known as such, and the later theories of the revised

text which have received exposition in the celebrated work of Bishop Westcott and Dr. Hort. Those who maintain either of these two views are to have the opportunity of expressing arguments in favour of it, and especially, I think, it is designed that Mr. Miller, who has taken an enormous amount of trouble and devoted an enormous amount of diligence and labour to the investigation of these subjects, and who stands before the world as the representative of Dean Burgon, may remove some misapprehensions which he thinks have existed in the criticisms which have been directed to the two books which he has brought out in connexion with this great question. I would only like to say that I trust the whole discussion will be conducted in a spirit of absolute judicial impartiality. The question to be determined is, what are the scientific principles to be applied in the definition of the true text of the Bible? Many of us knew the late Dean Burgon; I knew him myself very well. Nobody could be more delighted than I was to meet him in private society, or to hear his admirable expositions in the pulpit of St. Mary's. At the same time, I must confess that the vehement tone in which he conducted some of his controversies, and his occasional imputation of motives to those who did not agree with him, rather repelled one. That was an error of a great mind, I think; and we ought to feel quite sure that an utter absence of any imputation of motives, theological or literary, should distinguish our discussion to-day. I have to say that it is not intended that any resolution whatever should be put; that is not really the natural sequel to such a discussion. The object is rather, I think, to direct attention, specially in Oxford, to this great question, with the hope that it will be taken up and prosecuted by scholars who have the time to devote to it, because it affects not only Greek and Syriac scholars, but all the early versions must be brought into consideration. Several gentlemen familiar with the question are going to speak, and I am instructed to call upon them in order. If the discussion should be

protracted, it may be necessary to limit some of the speeches; possibly no such necessity will arise. I will begin by asking Mr. Miller to open the discussion and state his views on the subject.

PREBENDARY MILLER:—Dr. Ince and Gentlemen, I think that the attempt to combine scholars upon a general study of the text of Holy Scripture has been rather lost sight of during late years, although it cannot be doubted for a moment that the study is very important, and indeed the interest of it is as wide as Christendom. The system which is now in vogue—I allude of course to that of Dr. Hort—is, I find, looked upon with invincible repugnance by a very large number of scholars, and, speaking very briefly, I have reason to suppose that even those who hold and teach it feel some misgivings, and are not inclined to press it to the extreme extent that Dr. Hort did. Turning, therefore, to the other system, which I have had the honour of presenting recently to the learned world, I wish to point out in general terms the chief characteristics of it. Dean Burgon's principles, which I advocate, have been, I think, very much misunderstood, and, as the Chairman has just said, I think there were reasons certainly of a personal character which led people to attribute undue importance to some parts of them, and generally not to understand them in their proper proportions. This, however, should be borne in mind, that Dean Burgon threw his whole intellect and powers, and devoted a very great number of years in the latter part of his life, to this work; and in order to do so, he looked at the question all round. He took the advice of some of the ablest men in the country, and then produced a system which at any rate must be said to be large-minded, even if unsound, but the large-mindedness and the soundness of it, perhaps I may be permitted to say, was, as far as I was able to judge, that which attracted myself.

The chief principle of it is this, which I will state in the words of Dr. Scrivener, whose caution and care

I think can hardly be doubted. He says, 'One thing would appear at first sight almost too clear for argument, too self-evident to be disputed, that it is both our wisdom and our duty to weigh the momentous subject at issue in all its parts, shutting out from the mind no source of information which can reasonably be supposed capable of influencing our decision.' The plain English of which is this, that Dr. Scrivener advocated a view which was supported by the large mass of MSS., against the few. He estimated the vast mass of those MSS. and other evidence which have been discovered and are known, as nineteen-twentieths, and he asks how it can be that one-twentieth shall be supposed to override the verdict of all the rest. Now it is just possible there may be some here who would like to have this exhibited in, say, two instances. Perhaps those of the rest who are familiar with them will pardon me if I bring them before the meeting. I will take first the case of the one, in the first chapter of St. Matthew, verse 25, the question of the word *πρωτότοκον*. You remember it is rejected by some, but it is maintained in what we call the Traditional Text. With regard to the evidence for the maintenance of it, I should like to say that I do not quote Tischendorf entirely by himself. Perhaps I may be permitted to say that I am engaged in preparing a commentary which is intended to go on all the main passages considerably beyond Tischendorf, and I have finished the first ten chapters of St. Matthew, from which both these instances have been taken. The evidence then is as follows:—

For the word *πρωτότοκον* (firstborn), the following Uncial MSS.:—CΣDEKLMSUVΓΔΠ, —thirteen;—all collated Cursives except two;—the Old Latin MSS. fff¹g¹q, Vulgate, Peshitto, Harkleian, Ethiopic, Armenian, Georgian, Slavonic;—Tatian, Athanasius (2), Pseudo-Athanasius, Didymus, Cyril of Jerusalem, Basil (3), Gregory of Nyssa, Ephraem Syrus, Epiphanius (3), Chrysostom, Proclus, Isidore of Pelusium, John Damascene, Photius, Nicetas, Ambrose, Opus Imperfectum, Augustine (I believe), Jerome.

For the omission of this word we have only Ν (the Sinaitic), Β (the Vatican), Ζ (the Dublin Palimpsest—i.e. three Uncials;—the two Cursives (1, 33):—the Old Latin a b c g¹ k, Bohairic, Curetonian, Lewis;—of the Fathers, Ambrose (3).

Now it is quite possible that there may be more of the Fathers for this omission, which I think is very probable. Perhaps I may say that I am only beginning my work. Some weeks ago I went into the Bodleian with a number of passages, 1800, which I had taken from Dean Burgon's Indexes to the Quotations in the Fathers, to search out. These did not by any means exhaust the whole of the quotations occurring in the ten chapters, and as I have not been able to finish the investigation I cannot say whether there any more on the other side. It is very probable there are some, but I think only a few. Accordingly, this instance will illustrate what is very commonly the case, the difference between the mass of MSS. on the one side and the very few on the other. My second instance is, I think, a very interesting one. We all remember Professor Huxley's paper in the *Nineteenth Century* about the devils going into the swine, in which he quoted St. Matthew viii. 31, as ἀπόστειλον ἡμᾶς (send us into the herd of swine). It is a pity that he did not prefer the reading ἐπίτρεψον ἡμῖν ἀπελθεῖν (suffer us to go), which is much the softer of the two and takes off from the harshness of the other. But of course we must proceed upon evidence. Dean Burgon always maintained that it was not a question of opinion, but a question of actual evidence, which should rule us. Now ἐπίτρεψον ἡμῖν ἀπελθεῖν is witnessed to by CΦ (at the end of the fifth century) EKLMSUVXΔΠ, twelve Uncials, —nearly all collated Cursives, the Old Latin f h q, Peshitto, Harkleian,—whilst Σ (at the beginning of the ninth century) reads ἐπίτρεψον ἡμῖν εἰσελθεῖν, which is practically the same, and the variations of one Cursive which reads ἡμᾶς, and of six which omit ἡμῖν altogether, do not prevent them from being reckoned as supporters of the rest. On the other

hand, for ἀπόστειλον ἡμᾶς only two Uncial MSS., B N, can be reckoned,—only four Cursives (to follow Tischendorf, for my work here is not complete), 1, 22, 33, 118,—with the Versions a b c d ff¹ g¹ k l, Vulgate, Bohairic, Sahidic, Ethiopic, Arabic.

That will show, what will be perfectly familiar to those who have looked thoroughly into these questions, the extreme difference there is between the two contentions. The remarkable thing is, that that extreme difference is kept up to a very great extent indeed throughout the Gospels. In almost all controverted cases you will find, and this is a misfortune, Aleph and B or one of them, with a very small body on one side and a large body of other MSS. on the other. I say that is a misfortune, because I think it is that which divides us into two camps, a thing I very much regret. This being so, if you have a very small body of MSS. against all the others, how can it possibly be right to say that the small body should dominate all the rest? Just look at the matter for an instant in this way:—Suppose you are sitting at the elbow of an editor of Agamemnon, or the Trachiniae, or whatever it may be of Sophocles, you would see that in his very wildest dreams he would never conceive on any difficult passage of such an immense mass of evidence being at hand, as we have in this case on the one side set aside by those few. And yet when one looks at Dr. Hort's system, one finds a large body of evidence frequently thrown entirely aside and virtually cast into the waste-paper basket. I will ask, is that a logical or a proper way of proceeding? Can it be justified intellectually, and can it be right, in dealing with Holy Scripture? The explanation is what has frequently been called by other men the extreme adulation paid to B, especially by Dr. Hort and men of that side. I think some of it is very natural, and that history quite accounts for it. They are the two oldest MSS.; and in early times, when people had in their view only a small amount of evidence, it was very natural that they should say that these

two MSS. which come to us as the earliest, and were therefore nearest to the original autographs, should be right. A great deal of interest was also felt because 'B' in the Vatican was invested with a certain amount of mystery. People were in the habit of looking for great things to come from Rome, and being unable to learn what it was which was so zealously guarded, they thought it would prove to be the key to all the difficulties when it was discovered. Thus, when another MS. like Aleph was found by Tischendorf, it was only reasonable that great attention should be paid to it.

Yet when we look on the other side, there are certain points which cast discredit upon those two documents. In the first place, according to all the critics they were produced in those times after the Council of Nicea when Semi-Arianism or one of those kinds of belief which were associated with it were in the ascendent; and it was very remarkable that just at the time when the Nicene Creed was finally accepted, towards the end of the century, these MSS. seem to have slipped out of repute. Then also they bear I think upon them traces of a somewhat sceptical tone, sometimes almost going into heresy, which would enable one, as I think, to connect them with the period in which they were produced. They are too incomplete MSS. There are no breathings or accents and scarcely any stops in B, and there are no breathings or accents except in two passages in Aleph, and the stops are very fitful and uncertain. These MSS. were also, as I have pointed out, condemned within fifty years. There was, I think, a great deal involved in that circumstance. And lastly, they are rejected by evidence virtually older than themselves. Objection was made to Dean Burgon that he did not care for the value of MSS. This is quite untrue as far as feelings were concerned, although of course you must not simply depend upon what a man's feelings are to maintain anything respecting his actions.

But Dean Burgon did not neglect the special value of

separate MSS. At least it will be admitted that he entertained and expressed very strong objection, in which many others concurred, to the very high estimate formed by many critics of B and Aleph. If there is on one side a very high admiration for these MSS., there is also on the other side a large number of scholars who have a great objection to them. There are many eminent men on our side, and I think if you set store by the admiration for Aleph and B on the one side you ought to put the objections to them in the other scale. It was said that Dean Burgon merely counted heads, and that the character or weight of MSS. was therefore virtually nothing, it being supposed that he imagined one to be equal to another. But Dean Burgon never adopted this line of argument. Some people are of opinion that he thought a late Cursive was as good as an early Uncial, but this was not the case, and he and those who agree with him have never dreamt of maintaining such a thesis. What we have always said is, that when the mass of the later MSS. go together they outweigh one or two other ones. We never take the Cursives separately.

In order to controvert the erroneous impression regarding his views that he cared for numbers only and not for weight, Dean Burgon constructed and worked out to a considerable extent his theory about the seven notes of truth, which he maintained were:—Antiquity, number, variety of kinds and countries, weight, continuity, context, and internal evidence. He laid great stress upon antiquity. Of course number is something, for if you multiply evidence by any figure it is surely of more value when it is numerous than when it was single, although one would be almost inclined to suppose that some people imagine that number derogates from the value.

There is no time now to dwell upon the remaining notes of truth. But there is one other point which I should like to notice before I go further, and that is this. There are three classes of evidence:—Greek MSS., Versions into different languages, and Quotations of the New Testament

by the Fathers. Some people suppose that we lay more stress upon the Quotations of the Fathers than upon anything else. That is quite an error; we lay most stress upon MSS., and anybody who goes carefully into the evidence and into the different passages must I think do the same. Suppose we come to a passage which is not a very important one perhaps, and which is perfectly decided by the copies, we say that there is no necessity to go further and to call in the Versions and the Fathers. The MSS. themselves decide the question, and great care ought to be exercised in applying the other two classes of evidence. I think on some occasions Tischendorf has wrongly quoted Latin MSS. when there is not sufficient evidence to justify such a course, the difference of reading being capable of explanation by the difference of idiom and not necessarily by any question connected with special words. And then again with regard to the Fathers, it is evident that great caution must be employed in dealing with them. You must be cautious how far they are used, but in many respects they are most valuable, especially perhaps in regard to such matters as omissions. For instance in the case, say, of the word *πρωτότοκον* (where the mention shows that it was in the Fathers' copy), or especially when a reference is made not in exact quotation but as an explanation of a passage—then the Fathers become extremely valuable. Another caution is to be urged with respect to Texts of the Fathers, some scholars holding the objection that the words may have been altered. My impression is that if those Texts were looked through thoroughly, these critics would withdraw a great part of their objection. Of course, we wait for the editing of the Fathers, but if we take editions like Stieren's Irenaeus, or Otto's Justin Martyr, we find the changes are very few and small. The principle I venture to lay down therefore is that of the many against the few, and the necessity for a careful consideration and weighing of the evidence.

Passing from that, I want to draw your attention to another point upon which there has been some misappre-

hension, and that is the claim we make for the acceptance of fifteen centuries impressed upon the Traditional Text. People have thought when we spoke of the Church doing this, that we had in our minds some arbitrary decision to which all people were bound to pay attention. Instead of that, we urge it as a proof of reasonableness. It is well known by those who study the history of the Church, that even the clear and plain decisions of Councils were not taken to be final or to have the authority of General Councils until they were subsequently ratified by the Universal Church. They were examined on all sides, and when they were approved, respect gathered round the Council in question, and the decisions of it became valid and fixed. There was, of course, in the present case, no public controversy; so far as we know, any such must have been between man and man, and not, at any rate, so public as to descend to us. That I think renders the decision even more strong. Then I wish to remind you that the period to which we refer was the fourth century, which was the great verifying age of the Church. Soon after the time when the Roman Empire became Christian, all the finest intellects in the world were turned towards these subjects, upon which people felt and thought more than upon anything else. As an illustration of this, I may refer you to the great respect paid to-day to the Nicene Creed, or again the respect felt for the Canon of Holy Scripture. When they had decided upon the Canon of the New Testament, surely they must go on to settle the words of the New Testament, and they so seem to have done. But this became a much longer process, because there were but a few books upon each of which the Canon would have to be settled, but innumerable readings. Accordingly, a long period of years would be taken up in the settlement of the vast numbers of questions involved. The fortunes of the Roman Empire delayed it very much, and the consequence is that the final settlement has not been made, as we maintain, up to the present time, when our immense collection of evidence puts us in a much better

position to form our conclusions than at any previous time. The process of settlement went on until the end of the seventh century, and in saying this I have the agreement also of Dr. Hort. After that time the Traditional Text, which had been mainly received before, was finally settled and accepted. The fact that this was the great verifying age of the Church did not mean that there were any new decisions made:—they made no fresh departure, but they simply ratified what had been in practice in the Church before. This ratification was expressed in the words uttered at the Council of Nicea by all the bishops, *τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἔθῃ κρατεῖτω*, 'Let ancient customs prevail.' Therefore when the question of the Text was settled, it is reasonable to suppose that it was decided that the Traditional Text was the Text which had been mainly read and used from very earliest times, and that it was a part of ancient custom. So that leads us, I think, to see that in Dr. Hort's system, and in other systems before his, there was a narrow view of estimating tradition. I think the authors did not see the vast volume of tradition which descended all over the Church, but were inclined to trace everything through a small body, such as the school at Caesarea. I think we hardly understand the extraordinary attention paid to Holy Scriptures in the earliest times. It is very remarkable that many more quotations were found from the Old Testament in the works of the early Fathers, than from the New. And the reason is clear. People outside the Church first had to understand the nature of the One True God, and then to come to Him. They learnt that in the Old Testament, and that was what struck them more than all, and when they had been taught that, they could go on to the teaching of the New. In this way the Holy Scriptures, Old and New, were a most powerful engine, first of all in the conversion of the people and then in teaching them; and so for their own study they must have had copies all over the Church. They read them also in their services, and wherever there was a church there must have been MSS. of Holy Scriptures in

daily use. When one decayed, it was replaced by another. So there was not a country where there was not some stream or streams of descent, like the Western Text and the Alexandrian. I quite agree that those texts existed; but besides them there was not a place that did not hand on the tradition, which was carried down as if in rivulets extending over the whole surface of the Church. If this was the case, it shows the reason why two MSS. of the same text, issuing probably from the school at Caesarea, should not have been accepted all over the Church. There was an immense volume of tradition at variance with them, and that was the reason why their text fell out of general vogue within fifty years after those MSS. were made.

You require some proof. I think I have some as far as it goes. You remember that some of the chief men who established the Nicene Creed finally in universal acceptance were St. Basil and the two St. Gregories. It is remarkable that these three Fathers witness very largely, more than almost any others of their time, to the Traditional Text, or rather the traditional readings, and you will remember that all these three came from Cappadocia, two from Neo-Caesarea, and one of the Gregories from Nazianzus, not very far from Caesarea. Does not that seem to show there was a descent genealogically of MSS. in favour of the Traditional Text which taught them to witness so much to it? There is even a little more proof that such a tradition was carried on in those parts. In the early centuries Gregory Thaumaturgus, a pupil of Origen, witnessed to the Traditional Text just about in the same way, and he also lived at Neo-Caesarea.

This brings us back to the very difficult time before we have any MSS. existing which reaches back to the delivery of the autographs. With respect to that you will remember, in the first place, that it is now generally understood that the reason why we have no MSS. is, because the New Testament was in early days written upon papyrus, which was of a perishable character, and therefore they have not descended to us. Many of you

will remember that last year, by the kindness of the Margaret Professor, we had in a lecture given by Mr. Kenyon some specimens of papyrus shown us; and, as a matter of fact, he went rather farther than I am myself disposed to go. But there is no doubt, I fancy, that in the first days they used papyrus, and that is the reason why we have no MSS. in our hands representing those times. Before I go into that subject I think there is a point which is very much deserving of consideration, and I find that it has not only struck myself, but it has struck at any rate one of my learned friends. It is that Dr. Hort has strained the theory of Texts, and that generally among critics the theory of Texts has been strained in its consideration. I am not going to say anything against the theory of Texts generally within due limitations. It was introduced by Bengel, who was followed by Semler and Griesbach and Hug, and it was adopted in this century by others, and especially by Dr. Hort. He slightly altered it by the introduction of what he called the Neutral Text. He considered that in the early times there were three texts: the Western, the Alexandrian, and the Neutral. I should say we doubt very much indeed the existence of the Neutral Text, except in a very particular way which I will describe directly, and upon which I maintain that the evidence is satisfactorily strong. When people read about a Text they are apt to consider that it must be some complete setting of words and expressions. And indeed, what is said and written about it sometimes leads me to suppose that they consider everything written in the West belonged to the Western Text, whereas of course Text is merely a collective word denoting a number of readings in the particular part of the world to which it refers. Besides these, it includes also other readings which belong to the true Text, whatever that may be. In early times people took the general readings of the New Testament and added some peculiar ones of their own which prevailed especially in the locality, and that was the way in which they made a composite

kind of Text, partly belonging to the true Text, and partly coloured with readings of their own. Now what we ought to call them is, I maintain, not Texts but Readings. When you once begin to speak of Texts, and consequently a beginner comes to consider Texts, he naturally clothes the word so to speak with flesh and bones and makes it into something; whereas if it is merely collective, it is a very different matter. This, I maintain, is the only way of safeguarding them, viz., to call them Readings instead of Texts. It comes to this. Supposing we were to take in the early days a map of the Church, instead of having red or whatever colour it may be in the West, and yellow for Alexandria and so forth, we should dot the world all over. There were everywhere reasons for corruption which must have been produced in early times. It was so produced all about the Christian world, but in certain particular regions you would have more marks, as I maintain, of corruption, and perhaps also slightly different in characteristics. I think that is a very important point, and must lead, if it is not attended to, to mistakes. *Dolus latet sub verbo* Text.

There are also difficulties in this way. Alexandrian is a very perplexing Text to make out, and with respect to the Western there is a very considerable difficulty there too, because the Old Latin Versions differ so very much among themselves. Beginning with the Brixianus (f) on the one hand and ending with the Bobiensis (k) there is an immense amount of variety, so that on very many passages you are able to use on both sides Old Latin Texts. I think it is much safer to follow to a great extent Dean Burgon's theory, which is worked out very ingeniously upon the various Kinds of Corruption.

With respect to the origin of B and Aleph, which will be of course Neutral documents, I believe both came from Origen, who was the first textual critic. I think Dean Burgon has been hard upon him sometimes. He was a man of wide observation, and had travelled very largely. He went to Rome, besides living at Alexandria, to Arabia

Petraea thrice, to Caesarea several times, besides spending there the latter part of his life. He also went to Greece, and sojourned in Neo-Caesarea. As you know, he edited the Old Testament, and prepared an apparatus of MSS. for editing the New. He can frequently be quoted on both sides, for he used MSS. of a different character; and it seems therefore that he laid his foundations as widely as he could with a view to a future revision or settlement of the Text. Moving from Alexandria he went to live at Caesarea, where he laid the foundation of the school at that place, in which he was followed by those who were successively bishops of that city, Pamphilus, Eusebius, Acacius, and Euzoius. The two latter were engaged, as we are told in a colophon, in copying from papyrus on to vellum. There are various reasons for concluding, and I think it is generally admitted now, that the probability is, at least as far as the evidence goes, that the fifty MSS. produced by Eusebius in compliance with the letter from Constantine included the Sinaitic and the Vatican. Now taking into consideration these fifty MSS., seeing there were forty-eight others, my impression is, that they were according to the school of Origen of different characters. Supposing they were not, but that, as Dr. Hort might say, all the fifty were B's and Alephs, how would he explain this? They went to Constantinople, and were used in the Churches there. Supposing they embodied in them the true Text, they must have had an almost untold influence. They came from the highest school, were exceedingly handsome, and if they all agreed must have impressed their character upon the Church at Constantinople. Yet so soon was the Traditional Text accepted at Constantinople, that those in the last century who treated of the earliest Texts styled that Text Constantinopolitan or Byzantine, which Dr. Hort calls Syrian, and which we call the Traditional. How then can this be explained? I conclude therefore that these MSS. were not of the same, but of various kinds.

I have very little more time, and I must very rapidly say

what I have to say. The evidence in the early centuries is this. It is first of the MSS., because the Traditional Text from the later part of the fourth century prevailed almost everywhere, and there were after that time hardly any of the others. Supposing it was general, almost universal, everywhere found to prevail, it must have been the successor of copies of the same character which went before it. Therefore the MSS. throw back their character to the earliest age. Secondly, there is the evidence of the Fathers, which I have in our first volume gone through and have shown that by a very large majority they witness to the Traditional Text. With respect to this subject I must point out that those who maintain B and Aleph have a very much more difficult task to perform than we have. We admit that readings of their character go back to the first, but we call them corruptions. We admit they were quite as early and came out immediately after—perhaps even before—the Gospels were written; but our opponents say that our readings do not go back at all. Therefore we have simply to prove that our readings go back to that time, in order to show that those who are opposed to us are wrong in giving a late date to the Traditional Text. Then, thirdly, there are the Versions, and of those first comes the Peshitto. With respect to the controversy about the Peshitto, whether that or the Curetonian was the old Syriac Version or not, a great deal of evidence will be given to you by those who have expressly studied the subject. One point I notice which has for me a good deal of interest. By the end of the sixth century the apparatus of MSS. of the Peshitto exceeded the apparatus of the Greek MSS. of the Gospels. Does not that show how very firmly the Peshitto must have been settled? What is settled in the unchangeable East goes on; and accordingly that seems to be a strong argument, as well as the others, in favour of the early existence of the Peshitto. Next I take the question relating to the revision of the Traditional Text. The Latin Versions, according to my figures, witness in favour of the Traditional Text in the proportion

of five to four. You will see here the exclusiveness of Dr. Hort, and I venture to hope the greater broadness of our school.

There is one point which perhaps I may be allowed to enter upon before I end. It is this. Dr. Hort's system stands of course in our way, and I think there are very great objections to it. The first perhaps that one might notice, which is felt by many people very strongly, is that in order to support it he is obliged to suppose that certain revisions took place of which there is no trace whatever in history. I do not wish to dilate upon that now; but I know there are some, and perhaps several here, who feel that that is a very strong point. Possibly I may mention a little private instance of this. A few years ago at Bournemouth a friend of mine introduced me to the late Dr. Scott, Head Master of Westminster School, who divided the honours at Cambridge in his year with the present distinguished Bishop of Durham. He said, 'If you get Scott upon the "phantom revisions," as we call them, it will delight your soul.' He called upon me: and I introduced the subject. It was like turning on a tap; he was thoroughly indignant at the liberty taken with history by Dr. Hort. I only mention this to show you what is thought by very able men, who are quite capable of judging of history, if they are not actually experts upon this subject.

There is another point, that of Conflation: I want particularly to mention this. It has been said in the Life of Dr. Hort, that he would not reply to Dean Burgon because he thought that Dean Burgon did not know enough to grapple with and estimate his Inductive Theory. I have my doubts, but I will not say anything about whether Dean Burgon had not examined more Greek MSS. and had a greater command of Patristic quotations than Dr. Hort; our contention is that Dr. Hort's theory is an Inductive Theory without induction. As a matter of fact, there has been no inductive foundation published.' It now remains in pigeon-holes or MS. books, and the world has

not seen it. But I also hold, that it is not supported by any induction adequate to the maintenance of it. Now conflation supplies a field small enough to test this in. Dr. Hort—I speak very briefly (having no time to pay tribute to his many admirable qualities)—only brings forward eight instances,—unless perhaps there is one more mentioned just on his way,—eight instances to establish a system which is supposed to operate throughout the whole of the Gospels. I say that that is an absurd induction, but I have answered his eight pleas, and in the opinion of one of my critics have had the best of the argument. That however may pass. Eight instances—four from St. Mark, four from St. Luke, none from St. Matthew unless it is the one I have just noticed, and none from St. John! Yet St. John especially is just the writer whom you would have thought would have supplied several such, his writings being quite of the character required. I say that this is an absurd foundation upon which to build up a large doctrine. I tried my best to increase Dr. Hort's number, and I added twenty-four to it, so as to make eight for each Gospel. All these but one answered the conditions at first, but failed in meeting the requirements afterwards. It is quite possible that I have made a mistake, and have been unable to discover what really exists. I am quite prepared to suppose that there may be several. A friend of mine showed me seven which he had found out, where curiously enough, whilst five of the conflations were towards the Traditional Text, the others were towards B or Aleph, and therefore in the wrong direction. In order to satisfy the conditions of this problem, it would be necessary to have at least thirty instances, and these should be typical instances. I give a challenge here to the followers of Dr. Hort either to produce thirty typical instances or to reject the system altogether.

Just in conclusion, let me say that although in principle there can be no compromise between idolatry of B and Aleph and an adherence to a broad view of evidence, never-

theless, although no theoretical compromise is possible, I should hope that there may be a practical meeting in many ways: and what I should hope very much is, that some plan may be set on foot from this time by which those who are on different sides on this question may find some sort of agreement and may co-operate one with another in threshing out this great question. It is with that wish that I have done what I could in this debate, proposed to me kindly by the Margaret Professor. I have to thank you all for the attention you have given me, and I only hope some good result may come of our meeting together to-day.

PROFESSOR SANDAY:—I very gladly acknowledge, and I am sure every one here will acknowledge, the chivalrous spirit in which Mr. Miller has prosecuted this controversy, and the chivalrous character of the proposals which he has made to us; I refer in particular to those for co-operation. But I think that there will be practical difficulties in the way of carrying out these suggestions to any large extent. I think it would be better for each side to prosecute its own studies on its own methods, but I do not see any reason whatever why we should not meet from time to time in a friendly way as we have done this afternoon, and discuss particular points, perhaps somewhat more limited in character than the very broad issue which is put before us to-day. I must try to be as concise as possible, and I will begin by meeting Mr. Miller as far as I can by saying how far I think we can go with him. I think we can go with him first as to the palaeographical conditions of textual criticism. It happens that that side of the subject is one to which I have paid a good deal of attention from time to time myself, and I very gladly bear testimony to what Mr. Miller has said in his books on this subject. He carries me entirely with him as to, for instance, the point he mentions regarding the supersession of papyrus by vellum. This was an important epoch in the history of MSS. There are a number of other points into which I need not at present enter. The second point upon which

I agree with him is the general enumeration of the causes of corruption. I willingly recognize all the causes that he mentions in his book which goes under that title. The only question is as to their application. Unfortunately, this is practically a question of internal evidence, and this internal evidence is constantly ambiguous. One reading may be due to one kind of corruption, and an opposite reading may be due to another kind of corruption, so that the one very often cancels the other. The difference between us is not as to the causes of corruption which are in operation, but as to the application of those causes. Thirdly, there is a point in his books on which Mr. Miller has laid some stress, and that is the influence of the great libraries. There again I agree with him, and in particular regarding that one great library upon which one naturally has one's eye—I mean the library founded by Pamphilus at Caesarea. The reference to this would be specially important if it were true, as Mr. Miller and many others contend, that the great MSS., the Vatican and the Sinaitic, both came from that library. I confess I think myself that there is a great deal to be said for that view. But it is not quite proved. Dr. Hort thought they were written in Italy, or rather that the Vatican MS. was written in Italy and the Sinaitic probably in Egypt. There are some arguments to be adduced in favour of this view. There is a little peculiarity found in B which is characteristic of the Latin MSS.—a tendency to represent the form 'Israel' by 'Istrael,' the insertion of a 't.' It is confined to the Acts in B, and there are certain capitulations or chapters, marked in the margin, which are also found in a Latin form. These are, of course, arguments, and we must remember that the great palaeographer, Dr. Ceriani of Milan, was also of opinion that B was written in Italy. There is a great deal to be said on the other side; the question is still under discussion. Then, fourthly, I can for myself go with Mr. Miller to a certain extent in thinking that Dr. Westcott and Dr. Hort have pressed their preference for these MSS. rather too far. One can make that con-

fession without any breach of principle, without any real inconsistency, because there are other texts almost, if not quite, as early as they are. The Western text and those texts represented by these two MSS. branched off in the second century, and so the true reading may be found in either of those two branches, and occasionally I think it quite possible—as indeed Westcott and Hort themselves thought in the case of certain omissions in the Western authorities—that the right reading may be preserved in the Western branch and not in the branch represented by Aleph and B. After all, they are fallible MSS. You find, but only very occasionally, the same kind of mistakes as in other MSS., and it is, I think, not a safe inference that because a MS. is right in nine cases out of ten, therefore it will be right in the tenth. On this fourth point I can agree with Mr. Miller; but I am afraid, on the other hand, there is a fundamental difference between us, and that difference is so grave that it would not be easy for us actually to work together at present. We start from opposite ends. Mr. Miller and Dean Burgon started from the Received Text, and I cannot help thinking that the Received Text has so impressed itself upon their minds that it is the standard to which, unconsciously, everything is referred. One can see it in their books; one almost seems to read the Received Text between the lines. That is one thing, and the other thing is, I think, that one can also read between the lines that strong preference which Mr. Miller has expressed for numbers, for the numerical majority, the mass of MSS. Whether this view is correct is exceedingly doubtful, but one cannot be surprised at finding it advocated. The other view seems a paradox, but it is much less of a paradox than it seems. Take this simple illustration. Suppose you have a MS. from which, from time to time, fifty copies are made. On Mr. Miller's theory those fifty copies would entirely outweigh the MS. itself, whereas all of them would contain such corruptions as are to be found in the original MS., and each of them would have its own corruptions as well. Clearly, the single MS. is of more value

than the whole fifty. That is the principle upon which we go, and I submit, with all deference, that Mr. Miller presents the problem in a wrong way. The real problem is to get at the original archetype, to get as near the autograph as you possibly can. MSS. fall into groups or families, each of which has an archetype. You begin with small families, and try to find what were the readings contained in this small archetype. A group of small families will make a large family, which also has its archetype. The true method of criticism is to work your way backwards, starting from the outside and working your way gradually to the root. I submit that that is the right method of approaching the subject. Another thing which I am glad to see in Mr. Miller's recent book is the prominence which he has given to the history of the text. Hitherto, in Dean Burgon's earlier works that side of the question was certainly not prominently put forward. But Dr. Hort lays it down as a principle that in order to get at the original text you must first have some conception of its history. That is a perfectly sound principle, not confined to the New Testament, but applicable to any text, for which there are a great number of excellent authorities. Of course, if you have only a single MS., and if you have a MS. from which others are copied, as in the case of Sophocles, the problem is a perfectly simple one. The text practically has no history, at least it is only guess-work to decide regarding it. But where you have so many authorities as we have for the Greek Testament, it is possible to a very considerable extent to reconstruct that history. That was the problem which Dr. Westcott and Dr. Hort set before themselves, and worked out with extraordinary skill and patience. And perhaps I may be allowed to say that my own experience, so far as it goes, very much confirms their results. To a certain extent that experience is independent, because I was working on the subject of text before their book came out. The first-fruits of such work as I did upon the subject may be seen in my book on the *Gospels in the Second Century*, and I have by me at home

numbers of tables which I drew out for myself at that time. They were constructed on the principle of beginning with what was easy, and going from easy readings to difficult ones. This is another mistake which it seems to me has been made by the supporters of the Received Text. They pick out the salient points, and give you all the striking readings. You are not led up to those readings, you are led down to them from the Received Text, and I confess I think that the other method is preferable. When you have examined a number of easy readings you will find principles will gradually form themselves in your mind. Of course I have learnt more than I can say from Westcott and Hort, and I should be only too glad to be allowed to consider myself one of their disciples. But now in view of Mr. Miller's recent books I think we may say that we have two theories of the history of the text confronting each other, this theory of Dr. Hort, and that presented by Mr. Miller. Well, I confess that for myself I have no doubt as to which deserves the preference. Mr. Miller will ✓ forgive me if I say that history as it is presented by him makes upon me the impression of an afterthought, whereas in the case of Dr. Hort it was the very foundation of the whole system. He had to work out the history as an essential and integral part of the theory. I must just say a few words in reply to the points raised by Mr. Miller, and in support of that general view. Mr. Miller objects to Dr. Hort's use of the term 'Texts.' I quite agree with him that it is only a collective name for a number of readings, but it does correspond to certain facts, certain phenomena in the MSS. There is a tendency for MSS. and for other authorities to form into groups, and when you come to examine the readings of those groups you find certain common characteristics running through them. That is all that it means. You may sit lightly to them, especially in the matter of geography, as Mr. Miller pointed out. That is one point. Then I understand that Mr. Miller now lays stress on the authority of the Church from the end of the fourth century onwards. I am not

sure that I know exactly what he means. Does he think there was an authorized edition? If so, it seems to me hardly consistent with his criticism of what he calls the 'phantom revisions,' because there is no trace of any such authoritative revision. On the contrary, I should say you find writers of that age occasionally referring to differences of reading, and referring to them in the same way that they had done before. They do not appeal to authority. You may occasionally find the statement that the Church reads so and so; you may find that the ecclesiastical copies have such and such a reading, but more often you find the statement that the ancient copies read so and so. I should like to give Mr. Miller one example. There is a conspicuous reading in which St. Basil who was one of the persons mentioned as supporting this authoritative text—

MR. MILLER:—Yes, perhaps I may explain. I meant merely the action going through the Church.

PROFESSOR SANDAY:—You mean a gradual tendency?

MR. MILLER:—I quite agree. I think it merely grew up, so to speak. I ought to have guarded myself.

PROFESSOR SANDAY:—I think you will find, when you come to examine the matter, that Dr. Hort did not mean anything more. I was just going to quote this particular reading of St. Basil. I quite allow that St. Basil has a good many readings which correspond with the Received Text, but he also has a fair proportion of others, and you remember the reading of the first verse of the Epistle to the Ephesians, in which there is an omission of the words ἐν Ἐφέσῳ. The authorities for that omission are Aleph and B, alone among the MSS., Origen and Basil, the latter of whom also quotes ancient MSS. If you take St. Jerome you will find the same appeal to MSS., and in particular to the MSS. of Origen, *Codices Adamantii et Pierii*. There is a special appeal made to them. I am afraid that the view will not hold water that Aleph and B represent the text of Origen. The text they really represent is older than Origen, because there are a great many examples of readings which Origen advocates

strongly, but which are not to be found in Aleph and B. Origen reads 'Bethabara beyond Jordan'; Aleph and B have 'Bethany.' In the case of the miracle of the demoniac Origen reads 'Gergesenes,' and defends the reading at considerable length, whereas Aleph and B have 'Gadarenes.' It is true there is a large element of Aleph and B which is attested by Origen. Then it is true there is a tendency for the Text which is ultimately represented in the Received Text, for the Traditional Text as it is called, to gain ground in the latter part of the fourth century, and you would no doubt find it to a considerable extent in Gregory Nazianzen and Gregory of Nyssa. Of course, according to Dr. Hort, the home of this Text really is Antioch, whence it spread. The way in which Dr. Hort accounts for its prevalence in later ages is not by the fact that it was regarded as in any way authoritative, but simply because of the great influence which Antioch exercised upon Constantinople at the end of the century. You have St. Chrysostom transferred from Antioch to Constantinople as Patriarch, and there are a good many other points tending in the same direction. [Its prevalence, therefore, is accounted for partly in that way, and partly also by the fact that the Church very soon afterwards lost its other great provinces. You have the wave of the Mahommedan invasion in the seventh century. First Syria and Palestine were lost, and then Egypt and Africa. Almost all the Christian provinces were blotted out from the map, not entirely or absolutely, but still to a very large extent. Constantinople became the centre of the Christian world, and the Text which prevailed there prevailed all over the Greek-speaking world, because by that time, you will see, the West was purely Latin, and Constantinople was I have no doubt a great centre for the manufacture of MSS. That is the way in which Dr. Hort would account for this set of facts. To the prevalence of the Antiochene Text towards the end of the century there are very large and important exceptions.] The greatest critic of the age, St. Jerome,

does not take that Text. Mr. White and Bishop Wordsworth have been investigating the character of the Greek MSS. used by St. Jerome in his revision of the Greek Testament. I will not anticipate Mr. White's answer to this question, but I do not think you will find it is Antiochene. Then also I think it would be wrong to identify this Text with the cause of orthodoxy. What greater champion of orthodoxy have you than St. Cyril of Alexandria, and yet you will find he very frequently sides with the two condemned MSS., Aleph and B. Mr. Miller will, perhaps, rather allow me to question that point among the accusations he brought against those two MSS. The number of readings which might be supposed to have any taint of scepticism or heresy about them is exceedingly small in these two MSS. They extend over the whole of the New Testament, and readings which have that kind of tendency are very few. To set against them you have very striking examples which tell exactly the other way; for instance, the great reading, *μονογενὴς Θεός*, in the first chapter of John. Perhaps some day Mr. Miller will collect and print a few examples, because, although he refers to them in his book, he quotes exceedingly few, and they are not really heresy, as heresy goes. Then, just to bring things to an issue, as I say, Mr. Miller offers us a reconstruction of the history of the Text, and Dr. Hort offers the same. I admit that it is very largely hypothetical; but if Dr. Hort's view is correct, there is no evidence at all of the existence of the particular kind of Text which Mr. Miller prefers further back than the latter part of the third or the beginning of the fourth century. That is his contention—I know Mr. Miller would not allow it for a moment—but he quotes examples of earlier readings, of traditional readings, which are supported by earlier authorities. All that is perfectly allowed for in Dr. Hort's theory. His theory is simply based upon the phenomena of MSS. You have three groups of authorities supporting characteristic readings. There is a group represented by Aleph and B, a group commonly known as the Western

Text, represented by Latin authorities, and primarily also by Syriac authorities. There is no question at all that this group is an exceedingly early one; in any case it goes back to the second century. You will find readings of that character in writers of the second and third centuries in great abundance. There is also a smaller group, more difficult to distinguish, and yet which is a substantial group, of what are called Alexandrian readings. There is no question that these types of Text were all current in the second and third centuries; but when you come to look for characteristic readings of what is called the Traditional Text, you do not find them before the fourth century, and Dr. Hort's theory is that that Text was an eclectic Text, produced by a comparison between and a combination of those previously existing Texts. So if you get a traditional reading supported by early authorities, early MSS., early Fathers, and so on, Dr. Hort would say at once, 'That is a Western reading adopted in the Traditional Text.' There are a great many Western readings which are not adopted, but a certain proportion of them are. So that what I say is, that it is all allowed for; you may be quite sure that all these phenomena are allowed for in Dr. Hort's theory. And when I have said that my own experience went to confirm that, all I mean is this: not that there are not a great number of open questions and many doubtful readings, in regard to which it is difficult to make up one's mind, but one has very little difficulty indeed in putting all the phenomena which come before one into their place in the theory. Thus the Lewis MS., which was discovered the other day, and which is of extreme importance, takes its place at once in the scheme of Texts, and its discovery would not have affected Dr. Hort's conclusions, except to a very infinitesimal degree, because it had all been allowed for beforehand. I am afraid I must say that Mr. Miller's presentation of the history of Texts is not one which we can accept just as it stands. Those readings require a great deal of scrutiny; it is a delicate and a difficult matter to decide regarding them, especially the further back you go.

An instance has just come before me. I have had occasion to work at Hilary, who is one of the authorities for reading *ὁ μονογενης υἱος* in St. John i. 18. It is perfectly true he quotes the passage two or three times, and always in that way, and no doubt that was the reading of the Western MS. But repeatedly—you may count the examples by the score—he has that remarkable phrase *Unigenitus Deus*. One reading he got from the Latin MSS., and the other from some other source; probably during his travels in the East he may have heard it pass from mouth to mouth. There is one question Mr. Miller has raised which is of considerable importance, viz. the character of the Peshitto, which is the sheet anchor of Mr. Miller's theory. It is the oldest text in any case which is of that particular type. So you see it is a question of considerable importance when this version was made. Was it made towards the end of the third century, or was it made in the second? No doubt it is an argument, and an argument of considerable weight, which impresses the imagination, to quote the fact that there were so many MSS. of the Peshitto in existence as early as the sixth century, and even one or two I think in the fifth century. Still this is not supported by the evidence of ecclesiastical writers, and in any case there is no proof that the Peshitto goes back to anything like the second century. I have only two other short points with which to deal. One is the question of conflation. Mr. Miller threw out a challenge to the followers of Dr. Hort to produce at least thirty typical instances of his theory of conflation. I think the number is a very good estimate; I do not suppose there are many more than thirty. I am speaking at a guess. I dare say there may not be more than that number; but what of that? If Mr. Miller will allow me to say so, he did not represent Dr. Hort quite justly when he said this was a phenomenon running all through the Gospels. Dr. Hort would not profess that it ran all through the Gospels. What he says is that occasionally you do find these combined readings—a double reading, representing, say, one the Western Text and the other the reading

of Aleph and B, or what might be called the Alexandrian reading. It is not by any means a constant phenomenon. Whatever person or whatever school produced the Traditional Text, did not systematically combine the Texts. They were combined occasionally, and that is all one can say. Also I am prepared to admit for myself that the conflations are not conclusive proof of the rightness of Dr. Hort's theory; they could only belong to the region of hypothesis. It is all hypothesis. I confess I feel strongly for myself that Dr. Hort's view represents the more probable side of the hypothesis, but at the same time I do not regard them standing alone as conclusive. I will end by venturing to do what Dr. Hort, with his great care and circumspection, has never done. It constantly seems as if his argument was leading up to it, but he never lets the name pass his lips. He thinks there was a revision of some kind; that is simply a way of describing the phenomena of the MSS. on what appears to be the easiest hypothesis as to their origin. He thinks that a kind of revision took place at that time, and was a more or less continuous revision. I confess it has always seemed to me that that revision was probably connected with Lucian of Antioch and his school, which exercised great influence all through the fourth century. This type of text is prominent in his disciples, most prominent indeed in Theodore of Mopsuestia, where it reaches its culmination. The school was in close contact with the Syriac-speaking Churches and writers, and I have always suspected, although I cannot prove it, that this Traditional Text, of which Mr. Miller is so fond, owes its origin ultimately to Lucian of Antioch.

The REV. G. H. G. WILLIAM (Fellow of Hertford) said:—I suppose I may as well, in the first place, declare on what side I am going to speak, although I shall not trouble you by entering very much into the question, as it has hitherto been discussed by Mr. Miller and the Margaret Professor. But I have not the least hesitation in standing up in support of Dean Burgon and Mr. Miller. It is very pleasant to cast aside labour and to disregard a number

of MSS., confining oneself to a few. That is the principle of Lachmann, and is in fact what we are invited to do by the school of Dr. Hort. I shall not attempt to comment upon anything which has been said by the Margaret Professor, but I will express my surprise at one remark which fell constantly from his lips. Dr. Sanday constantly spoke of Aleph and B as if they agreed in text. I thought everybody knew they do not always agree, and therefore must not be brought as one authority. They are two discordant witnesses.

PROFESSOR SANDAY (intervening):—May I be allowed to explain? What Mr. Gwilliam says is perfectly true, in regard to the agreement of Aleph and B. Dr. Hort laid stress upon their differences and quoted them as two authorities, but Mr. Miller is glad to quote them as only one. No doubt at a certain point Aleph and B had a common ancestor, and it is a question how near that ancestor was to the Autograph on the one hand and the actual MSS. on the other. I perfectly allow that there is a considerable amount of difference as well, but that tells in favour of Dr. Hort rather than against him.

MR. GWILLIAM:—I do not care in whose favour the difference tells; I want to arrive at the truth. I maintain that there is a difference between Aleph and B, and indeed between all the oldest MSS.; and I suppose it is in consequence of these differences that an appeal is to be made to the Versions. For if there were not these differences between the MSS. I presume we might base our Text upon the Greek MSS. only, and not appeal to translations at all. I think the importance of the Versions may be greatly exaggerated—I speak from my own point of view, and the Margaret Professor will not agree with me. When we have a mass of MSS. handing down to us the Text of the New Testament, what occasion is there to go to the Latin or Egyptian, or what Dr. Sanday was courteous enough to call the sheet anchor of Mr. Miller's position, the Peshitto? This is a subject which demands considerable attention and is not one to be lightly treated in

half an hour. Why should I speak? I would venture to remind you that I have already written upon the subject in several different publications, and it is a very significant circumstance that none has ever attempted to refute anything I have said. The sensitiveness of some people about the Peshitto is very remarkable. Having occasion to write in the second volume of the *Studia Biblica*, which came out in 1890, on a certain Syriac subject, I made some remarks upon the value of the Peshitto. A certain member of the University said he should be very sorry for such remarks on the subject to issue from the Clarendon Press. In spite of that the remarks did issue and are extant to the present day. In the third volume of the *Studia Biblica* I more fully discussed the question; and I may venture to refer those who are interested in the subject to an article which I wrote upon the same subject in the *Critical Review* for June, 1896. Lachmann, I believe, said he did not know Syriac, and did not mean to study it. In that he was right, for the Greek MSS. were quite enough for the settlement of the Text of the Greek Testament. Tregelles made a great mistake when he said the Syrians constantly revised their MSS. In co-operation with the late Philip Pusey I set to work to discover what the truth was, and found they did not so revise them. But there is a mass of evidence carrying the Syriac Text back to very early times, and supporting what the Margaret Professor has been kind enough to call the sheet anchor of the position. My friend, Mr. Crawford Burkitt, read a paper before the Church Congress at Norwich, and apologized in a private letter to me for being dogmatic, on the ground that he had not time to argue the question. I cannot allow dogmatism to be on one side. I accepted the apology, and in the same spirit I shall be extremely dogmatic now, for I cannot argue the question in five minutes, and I say that the Curetonian and Lewis MSS. were not the origin of the Peshitto as we have it. The Margaret Professor spoke of them together as if they represented one kind of translation. If he will be so kind

as to study a book which has been published by a certain gentleman I have the pleasure of seeing in this room, in which the two are compared, he will see that the Lewis and the Curetonian MSS. were not two MSS. of some one version which necessarily preceded the Peshitto. The Margaret Professor very pertinently referred to the principle of Dr. Hort, that to understand a text we must understand its history. We can know something of the history of the Peshitto. We have these many MSS. and can collate them, and trace out the history, as Pusey and I have done. May I ask those who do not agree with me to remember that I have never said the Peshitto was not preceded by some other form of text. All I say is that we have not got it now, and that the Lewis and Curetonian MSS. were not the origin of the Peshitto. These things I state dogmatically, but I have stated the reasons and argued the point on previous occasions. It appears to me that the difference between my position and those who disagree with the late Philip Pusey and myself is this: They offer conjectures, while we offer arguments; they deal in surmises, while we collect and tabulate and set before the world facts.

THE REV. A. C. HEADLAM:—May I ask what evidence Mr. Gwilliam can produce of the early date of the Peshitto, and how far back that evidence will carry it?

MR. GWILLIAM:—At least it carries us back to the fifth century, and it may be granted that the translation was not made before the second century. Have you any MSS. of Sophocles which carry you back to the date of his original writings?

MR. ALLEN said:—In venturing to speak of the relation of the Lewis Codex and the Curetonian Syriac to the Peshitto I do so with the consciousness that I have not made that thorough and systematic examination of the material which alone can enable any one to speak with authority upon a matter still under debate. But since, with hardly an exception, almost every writer who has discussed the question from the linguistic point of view has found reason

to assert with some emphasis, that the internal evidence in favour of the priority of the Lewis and Curetonian MSS. to the Peshitto is clear and unmistakable, I venture to restate some of the reasons for a position which my own slight acquaintance with the evidence persuades me is well grounded.

There is one point which I shall assume as proved because I do not know that any one (Hilgenfeld alone excepted) has ever seriously disputed it. That is, that the Lewis Codex, the Curetonian, and the Peshitto are three recensions of one and the same version. This I imagine will hardly come within the scope of our consideration to-day. The point that this afternoon may be considered as still open, is the question whether the Lewis Codex and the Curetonian represent prior stages in the development of the Peshitto text, or whether they are corrupted recensions dependent upon it. The following are reasons for holding the former view. I have had occasion from time to time to make use of Mr. Bonus' valuable collation of the Lewis Codex with the Curetonian, and I have found reason to believe that the order in which the three recensions are placed upon his pages, the Lewis Codex first, the Curetonian in the middle, and the Peshitto last, can be justified as the historical order. The Curetonian gives us a text intermediate between the other two. As a test passage I have selected St. Matthew iv. 1-17, partly because the first twelve verses are discussed in Holzhay's monograph upon the subject, partly because I had previously worked through the same passage in my own note-books, and could therefore test my results by his.

I find that in these seventeen verses the Peshitto agrees with the Curetonian against the Lewis Codex about twenty-six times, with the Lewis against the Curetonian about thirteen times. That is to say, the Curetonian stands very much nearer to the Peshitto than does the Lewis Codex. Now is it possible that the right order is Peshitto, Curetonian, Lewis? or that the Curetonian and Lewis are two independent offshoots of the Peshitto? The latter

hypothesis is precluded by the close verbal agreement of the Lewis and Curetonian against the Peshitto, the former by some cases where the Lewis Codex has a harsh or unexpected rendering which cannot be explained as an alteration of the Peshitto-Curetonian Text, but are intelligible if the Lewis Codex formed the first stage in the series. Such are verse 6, 'fall from hence,' altered by the Curetonian into 'cast thyself down,' in agreement with the Greek Text; 'arms' in the same verse, which in the Peshitto become 'hands'; v. 9, 'these kingdoms and their glory thou seest' altered in the Curetonian into 'all these things'; verse 16, 'in sadness and in the shadows of death,' of which the first word is omitted in Curetonian, and is changed in the Peshitto into an equivalent of the Greek *χώρα*.

It is of course difficult to prove much from a section of seventeen verses only, and I do not mean to say that difficulties do not sometimes arise which it is not easy to explain, the cases e.g. where the Peshitto and Lewis combine against the Curetonian. But every page of the Gospels confirms the impression made as it seems to me by the passage I have discussed that the Lewis Codex represents a prior stage in the Version, that it has been subjected to revision in the Curetonian, and that this again has been revised to harmonize with the Greek Text. And this might be supported by such considerations as that the Lewis Codex gives a much shorter text than that of the Curetonian, and that cases occur where renderings in Lewis which seem to be mistranslations of the Greek have been corrected either in the Curetonian and the Peshitto or in the latter only: e.g.—

Matt. xii. 25	εἰδὼς	L. C. 'saw,'	P. 'knew.'
John xviii. 4	"	L. "	P. "
Matt. xviii. 20	οὐ	L. 'not'	C. P. 'where.'
Mark x. 40	ἀλλ' οἷς	L. 'for others,'	P. = Gk.
Luke iv. 29	κρημνίσαι	L. 'hang,'	P. 'cast.'
John vii. 35	διασποράν	L. C. 'seed,'	P. 'places.'

If I were discussing the question from a general point of

view I should of course endeavour to support what has been said by the additional arguments, that the type of text found in the Lewis and Curetonian MSS. finds analogies in such early witnesses as the Diatessaron of Tatian and the quotations of Aphraates, further, that it often finds support in the earliest Greek MSS. and in the Old Latin Versions; but arguments of this kind open up questions which are for this afternoon debatable ground, and which have been previously discussed.

In conclusion, I should like to say that the argument against the possibility of the Lewis Codex being a direct link in the development of the Peshitto Text, on the ground of the supposed heretical tendencies of its writer, seems to me unsound and dangerous. If it be true that truth precedes error, it is equally true that inaccurate and unguarded statement of truth has sometimes preceded the scientific expression of it. In a Version of the Gospels so accurate and careful as is the Lewis Codex, the few expressions with which fault has been found can at most have a colour of heresy when detached from their context and isolated. Until we have further evidence which will force us to conclude that the scribe of this codex was heretically inclined, it seems to be more reasonable to look upon these expressions as primitive methods of expression which were afterwards modified. Of course I do not mean that they give us the true reading, but only that they represent a very early stage in the history of the *Syriac* Text, and that to urge that the Lewis Codex is a corrupted recension of the Peshitto on dogmatic grounds is to misread the evidence. Even if in such case it is certain that the Peshitto retains the true reading and the Lewis Codex a corrupted one, it may still be true that as far as the Syriac Versions are concerned the Lewis Codex presents us with an earlier form of text which has been modified in the Peshitto to harmonize with the Greek Text.

The REV. A. BONUS (Pembroke):—In the very short time allowed me I can only make a few brief observations. Referring for a moment to what has just been said, I should

like to point out that in the places where the Lewis and Curetonian MSS. differ, the latter agree or tend to agree with the Peshitto in SS. Matthew and John many more times than Lewis agrees or tends to agree with the Peshitto in the same Gospels; whereas in St. Luke the respective agreements or tendencies to agreement between Cureton and the Peshitto, and between Lewis and the Peshitto, are fairly equal. This is a remarkable circumstance, which demands careful attention. Connected with this there is another point of interest. Lewis, as you are aware, is characterized in parts by the use of the word 'Lord' instead of the word 'Jesus.' This is the case in St. Matthew, and especially in St. John—I am speaking of course of those parts only of Lewis and Cureton which are available for comparison—but in St. Luke the case seems reversed. Thus, whilst in St. Matthew and St. John Lewis inclined to the use of 'Lord' and Cureton to the use of 'Jesus,' in St. Luke Lewis inclined to the use of 'Jesus' and Cureton to the use of 'Lord.' These, and some other kindred facts which my collation of the Syriac Gospels brought before me, are important. Do they not indicate that the texts of Lewis and of Cureton are not homogeneous, or at least that they have been subjected to a varying textual influence?

Turning to the Peshitto problem, I should like to say in a few words how the case seems to me to stand. It is generally allowed—I believe by Dr. Sanday among others—that MSS. and quotations carry back our knowledge of the Peshitto roughly speaking to the beginning of the fourth century, say for convenience A.D. 310; and the question is how and when did it come into existence. It would appear that there were, speaking broadly, only two alternatives containing four possibilities—revision or translation. It might then have been the result of the revision of previously existing Syriac texts—a revision conducted gradually, without any one authority; a revision extending over a long period of time, until at last the Peshitto, as we know it, was evolved. The objection to this theory seems to be

that there are no traces of such a revision; if such a process has been gone through, it is next to certain that there will be extensive traces of it in the Peshitto MSS.—traces of irregular revision and of mixture. And if any one says, 'Well, you have the antecedents of the Peshitto in Lewis and Cureton,' that is not the point. The point is that no Peshitto MS. shows any signs of mixture or of irregular revision; for Mr. Gwilliam and the late Mr. Pusey appear to be quite correct in saying that the variations between Peshitto MSS. are insignificant and are largely only slight changes in grammatical forms. This appears to be the place to remark that I cannot understand how any one can suppose, in the language of Dr. Hort, that 'the Syriac Version, like the Latin Version, underwent revision long after its origin.' The facts seem scarcely at all parallel. In the case of the Latin there is historical evidence of revision; in the case of the Peshitto none. In the case of the Latin there are in existing MSS. abundant traces of sporadic and casual mixture, and of irregular revision; there is nothing of the kind in the Peshitto MS.

PROFESSOR SANDAY (intervening):—Nobody has ever contended that the Peshitto itself was revised, except in the later forms of the Version known as the Philoxenian and Harclean, but that it was the product of a revision. An analogous case is that of Codex Brixianus and a small group of Latin authorities, which go far to show that there was a revision of the Latin Version before the time of Jerome, of which nothing is known historically¹.

MR. BONUS:—Of course, where everything is in the dark we can suppose anything. Turning to the second possibility under the first alternative, the Peshitto may be the outcome of an authoritative revision of the Syriac Text. This appears to be Dr. Hort's view, and Dr. Hort seems inclined to suppose that it may have taken place not far from 300 A.D., that is soon after the supposed first Syrian (Greek) revision. I have always felt that there

¹ This explanation was not expressed quite accurately at the time, but is given here in the form which it should have taken.

were at least two formidable objections to this theory, for while fully recognizing the precariousness of arguing from silence, it is certainly hard to understand, if such an authoritative revision had taken place at so comparatively late a date, why no notice was taken of it by Syriac writers. Nor is there merely the difficulty of accounting for the silence of Syriac writers as to any such definite revision, but there is the further difficulty—supposing such a revision had been made—of accounting for their silence as to any authoritative removal of 'old Syriac' Texts and the imposition of the revised Text on the Syriac Churches, and on the supposition of a definite authoritative revision something of this kind must have taken place. We are told of the removal of Tatian's work, and of the Philoxenian revision. Why are we not told of this important change? The argument from silence must no doubt be used with caution, but under the circumstances a 'consensus of silence,' as some one has phrased it, deserves serious consideration. The first possibility of the second alternative is that the Peshitto may be a direct translation made from the Greek somewhere about 300 A.D., that is soon after Dr. Hort's supposed first Syriac (Greek) revision, and based upon that revision. But the objections to the previous suppositions apply with equal force to this. Lastly, there is the possibility that the Peshitto is a direct translation from the Greek made at a time long anterior to 300 A.D., at a time that is to say when literary and ecclesiastical activity in the Syriac Churches was, by comparison with that of a later age, feeble, when, in the language of Canon Cook, 'such a transaction might have escaped notice or have been passed over as of slight historical importance, not bearing upon the external organization of the Church, or upon controversies which occupied almost exclusively the minds of its chief representatives.' In conclusion, the only reasonable interpretation of the evidence—largely negative and inferential, no doubt—seems to be that the Peshitto, whether it were the result of revision or whether it were a direct translation

from the Greek, must have come into existence long before the beginning of the fourth century—scarcely later than the latter half of the second century. But if this were so, the Greek text on which it was based must have existed at or before that date. I may add that I quite admit that Texts like those of Lewis or Cureton may have existed in the second century, but even if it were beyond doubt that Aphraates and Tatian used only such Texts that would be no evidence that the Peshitto Text did not exist when either of those writers lived. We could merely argue that if the Peshitto then existed it was not in the proper sense of the word a Vulgate.

The REV. A. C. HEADLAM (All Souls) said:—I have worked for a considerable time in some small portions of the Bible on Textual Criticism, and I have always done so, as far as I could, with my eyes open and with a great desire not to be prejudiced in favour of any one theory; but I have found the more I have tested them the stronger the arguments of Westcott and Hort have seemed to appear. There are certain definite scientific arguments which they used, and I have read writers on the other side, and have tried in vain to find them answered, but I have rarely found them even understood. That is of course only giving my own impression. There is one line upon which I am quite unable to follow the arguments, and that is upon the relative dates of the Peshitto and the Curetonian. Mr. Gwilliam and others constantly asserted that all the arguments were against Westcott and Hort. I have listened with great care to what has been said to-day, and I particularly asked Mr. Gwilliam for the evidence of the early date of the Peshitto. I saw at once that the evidence he quoted was perfectly useless. He told us his evidence dated back as far as the fifth century, and argued that therefore it must go back to the second, further saying that there was a clear Text without any sign of mixture. Upon referring to the earliest Texts of the Vulgate you will find those Texts possess hardly any signs of mixture. Mixture means that a Text has grown

up and had a long history. If in the fifth century there were a considerable number of MSS. of the Peshitto which agreed in a remarkable manner, that shows almost conclusively that the Texts must have been derived from one source, which could not have been very remote. A common argument used with regard to the Gospels is that the extraordinary variety of Texts which confront us, oblige us to throw back the composition of the documents to a very early stage. Mr. Gwilliam's argument compels me to think that the Peshitto must be of a comparatively recent date, and must come from an authoritative edition. I have also listened carefully to Mr. Bonus' argument. It is admitted on both sides that we might go back to the beginning of the fourth century. We want some evidence to connect the Peshitto with an earlier period. If you are going to make that document any evidence at all to overthrow Dr. Hort's conclusions, you must show conclusively that it existed at an earlier period. You cannot overthrow a body of statements built up on a groundwork of facts by mere surmises. That is exactly the position in which we are with regard to the Syriac. I have tried to find any arguments which would tell against Westcott and Hort, and I find that practically Mr. Gwilliam and Mr. Bonus repeat statements which Westcott and Hort would be the very first to admit. I had hoped that the discussion would turn upon further interesting questions which have lately arisen. Dr. Salmon's book on Textual Criticism brings us to this position—he criticizes Westcott and Hort, but practically accepts the great contention which separates him from Mr. Miller; he accepts in some form or other the Antiochene revision, though, like Professor Sanday and Dr. Hort himself, he does not think it was quite such a formal revision as some of those who attack the theory think. He then tries to find out whether in certain points the authority of the Western Text cannot be set up. That is really the point at issue before scholars at the present day, whether the Western Text does not really contain some considerable element

of truth. Personally I cannot think it does. Various attempts which have been put forward to set up that Text have failed almost entirely in the main argument, but this much is true, that occasionally as it gives independent tradition it will contain readings which are possibly true, and may help us to correct in certain points the readings of the other group. But it will do so probably as against the Traditional Text, and not in its favour. That is the conclusion I have arrived at from a careful study of portions of St. Paul's Epistles. Here I may add that Dr. Sanday did not refer to the fact that the conclusion we came to with regard to one MS., 'B,' was that we ought to be very careful in using it, because it was found that from time to time the MS. had been exposed, especially in the Epistles, to certain corrupt influences. As a matter of fact, sometimes when the MS. stands quite alone and is unsupported by any other authorities, it gives a reading which in some small point, where one would hardly expect it to occur, was that which in all probability was an original reading. One has to be very cautious indeed about taking a reading upon the authority of a single MS., but sometimes we feel inclined to do so. Mr. Miller has asked the question what the classical scholar would do when face to face with the mass of evidence contained in the New Testament. We happen to know what a classical scholar has done. Dr. Blass came as a classical scholar to the study of the New Testament and of the Acts of the Apostles. The very first thing he did was to sweep away a whole mass of later authorities, saying that to a classical student like himself, coming to such good authorities as the New Testament was preserved in, it seemed perfectly useless to consider those later authorities which clearly contained a mixed text. As a matter of fact, in the case of most classical texts now, authorities have discovered that the mass of MSS. are derived from one single authority, and it is very rarely indeed that any attention is paid to the great majority of them.

PREBENDARY MILLER:—I have only a very few words to say in reply. With respect to the last remark, I think what Dr. Blass did can hardly be justified. It is quite true that that is what a classical scholar has done, but it is surely throwing away evidence which he has no right to do. You might easily go to another scholar, Lachmann, who did the same. They have thought it impossible to deal with so much evidence. It seems to me that it is a very poor reason for casting away a great quantity of evidence because it is beyond your powers to deal with it in one age. Turning to the other point, the Peshitto, it is very curious that there should be such a difference between those who think the Peshitto came from the first, and those who say they cannot find any evidence to show that such was the case. We trace it back in line of evidence. It occurs in the readings of Aphraates and Ephraem Syrus according to accounts, but there is no time to argue the question now. I would rather refer to an article in the *Church Quarterly* and to a chapter in my first volume. But there is one thing I think ought to be borne in mind, that the Peshitto has not got the ἀντιλεγόμενα, or books once not universally received, and that is a very strong reason for supposing that the translation from the Greek took place at a very early date—indeed, before those books were generally in use. I think I said we hold there was no authoritative revision of the Greek, but that the revision merely grew by itself. With respect to Μοτογενῆς Θεός, my views have been put forth in my second volume, to which Dr. Sanday referred. That reading we hold was introduced by Valentinus for heretical purposes, and it is no credit to these MSS. to bring it forward. Again, he said that history as it is presented by us was an afterthought. Let me say, that as far as I am concerned, that is in no wise the case¹. There was another

¹ I made an ineffectual attempt in 1882 to review Westcott and Hort's theory mainly from an historical point of view, and the historical part of my 'Textual Guide' was singled out for special praise by Dean Burgon, whose own arguments have much that is historical in them.

difficulty, you will all remember, in our argument. We were obliged to argue against a great number of scholars, to whose eminence, ability, and knowledge I wish to pay the greatest tribute. Both those volumes are necessarily argumentative. That is not a case where you are so likely to make limitations and look in a wider and more conciliatory way. I hope therefore that this consideration will be remembered when any attention is turned to that point. I am very much surprised to find that Dr. Sanday says that Conflation is not a process running through the Gospels. It is quite true Westcott and Hort do not actually say so, but there is great prominence given to Conflation in their work. I expect Dr. Sanday has been guided very much by his own experience of it, and has come to the conclusion that it does not go very far. I am quite sure anybody reading Dr. Hort's book will infer that it holds a very integral place in his theory, and is very important in that theory. I do not think it can be justified, and I am delighted to feel that Dr. Sanday agrees with me upon this point. I do not think it is necessary, after all the argument we have had, to discuss further the subject¹.

¹ Mr. Miller intended to add more remarks, but was prevented by the inexorable approach of the College dinner-hour, which indeed curtailed his reply throughout. Inevitable limits of time hampered all the speakers.



